VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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THE GREAT BRITISH PUBLIC

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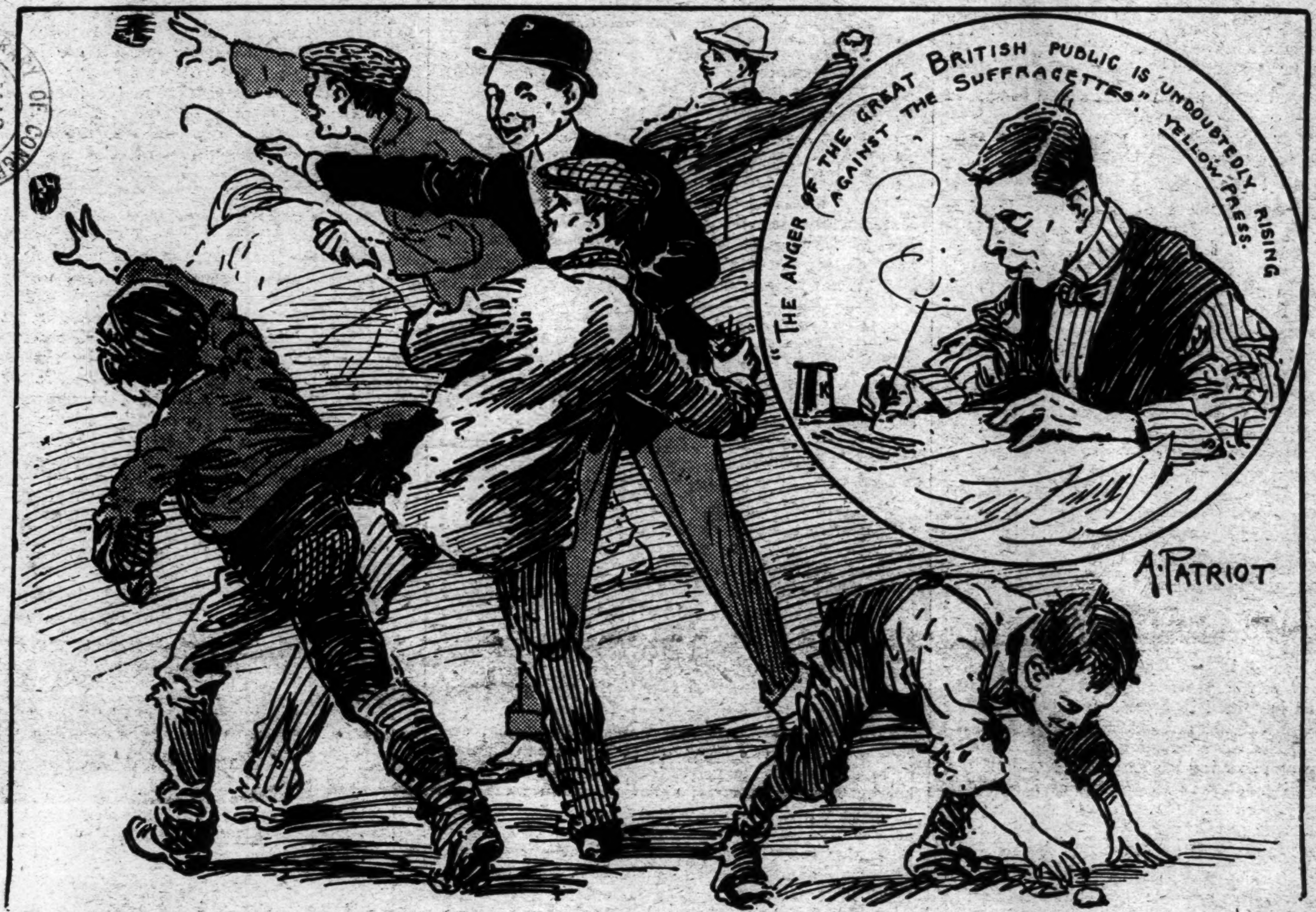
"THE ANGER OF THE GREAT BRITISH PUBLIC IS UNDOUBTEDLY RISING AGAINST THE SUFFRAGETTES." YELLOW PRESS.
A. PATRIOT

So far as the Editors of "Votes for Women" are able to ascertain, the members of the British public who have displayed their anger against the Suffragettes have been street larrikins, reinforced by students and incited by the daily Press.

CONTENTS

PAGE
Our Cartoon 317
The Outlook 317
The Ottoman. By G. Colmore 319
Drama and Music 319
VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship 319
Law-Abiding Suffragists in Council 320
Forcible Feeding Scandal .. 321
Women and the Franchise. By C. A. McCurdy, M.P. .. 322
New Books 323

PAGE
Next Session 324
The Spiritual Aspect of Unrest. By Percy Dearmer, D.D. 325
The Spirit of Women. By F. W. Pethick Lawrence .. 325
The Militant Agitation 326
In the Courts 327
Miss Allan's Super-Tax 327
The Press View of Militancy 328
Correspondence 329
General News 330

DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

After the unprecedentedly short interval of two days, the new Session of Parliament opens on Monday next with the reading of the King's Speech. The Government Programme is already pretty closely defined. It will include a Plural Voting Bill and a Bill to deal with the treatment of Suffragist offenders. Mr. Asquith has also, it will be remembered, promised to allot time to the various stages of a Private Member's Bill for Woman Suffrage. This Bill has been prepared by the Liberal Suffragist group in the House of Commons, and corresponds to the "Dickinson" amendment to the Franchise Bill of the expiring session. Our views as to its prospects will be found in our leading article.

Policy of the N.U.W.S.S.

By a resolution carried at their private conference on Friday last the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies have adopted an election policy, having for its object "to shorten the term of office of the Cabinet as at present constituted." They have, therefore, in principle become definitely anti-government. As our readers are well aware, we have held from the first that this was the only sound policy for a Suffrage society to adopt, and it has been a matter of regret to us that the N.U.W.S.S. did not see eye to eye with us in this matter. If they had done so, we believe that the catastrophe of November, 1911, when the Conciliation Bill was torpedoed, would never have occurred. However, we are not concerned with the past, but with the future, and we congratulate the Suffrage movement on the united front which it is now showing to the Government.

How it will be Carried Out

When we come to the details by which this principle is to be carried into practice by the N.U.W.S.S. we do not feel quite so happy. According to the official account of the conference, it was stated that "tried friends of Woman Suffrage would not be opposed," but these were few in number. The danger lies in the fact that, however few are the really tried friends of Woman Suffrage, the particular Liberal candidate who is standing at a bye-election is always able to prove by irrefutable evidence that he ought to be reckoned among their number, and consequently the exception is liable to become the rule. We commend this point to the careful consideration of those responsible for carrying the policy into effect, and suggest to them that if they must make exceptions they should draw up in advance the smallest possible list of "tried friends," and adhere rigidly to it, in spite of all temptations to the contrary.

Attitude Towards the Labour Party

A still more serious defect, in our view, is the decision of the N.U.W.S.S. with regard to the Labour Party. Labour candidates are not merely to be treated as "tried friends" and left unopposed, they are to receive active support, except where their own personal record is unsatisfactory. The reason for this line of action is, we are told, that the Labour Party is the one party in the House which has adopted Woman Suffrage as part of its official programme. If the Labour Party were sitting and voting in opposition, or acting as a really independent party, that explanation would entirely satisfy us; but it is not so. The Labour Party is an integral part of the Coalition. By its favour the Government is retained in office; its opposition would speedily bring about a Government defeat. So long, therefore, as the Labour Party supports the Government the decision to work for it is directly contrary to the main principle of seeking "to shorten the term of office of the Cabinet" which the N.U.W.S.S. have adopted.

Local Option for Woman Suffrage

The *Nation*, in its issue of March 1, devotes a thoughtful article to the Woman Suffrage problem.

After attacking the militant agitation, it urges upon the Government the necessity of initiating legislation to enfranchise women, remarking that Suffragists have grounds for considering that "the problem of finding an adequate substitute for the frustrated pledge has not been solved." "If A. and B. arrange a deal," it says, "and A. is unavoidably prevented from delivering the goods for which B. contracted, it is not open to A. to offer a different class of goods till he has B.'s consent to the substitution." The *Nation* then proceeds to the discussion of a proposed solution, which the editor, Mr. Massingham, has already promulgated elsewhere:—

> We must face some innovation, some novelty of procedure. Our proposal is that each constituency should be allowed, in its own good time and by its own choice, to settle this question as soon as local opinion is ripe. . . . We would suggest, in the first place, the framing of a simple and intelligible Bill, either on Dickinson or on Conciliation lines. The Government would assume responsibility for this Bill as a general formula of settlement. It would not thereby commit itself to the principle of woman suffrage. It would merely adopt what we understand to be the position at least of the more moderate anti-suffragists. It would say, in effect, that women shall vote in any constituency when and if the majority of the electors within it consent to place them on the register. . . . The essence of the scheme would be in the last resort a reference to the male electors of the question whether the purely permissive Franchise Act which the Government had placed on the Statute Book should be applied in their locality.

Mr. Massingham defends this proposal by a comparison with the system in the United States.

An Impossible Suggestion

There are two objections to this proposal; they are both fundamental. It wouldn't work, and if it could work it wouldn't satisfy anyone. It wouldn't work for the simple reason that Great Britain is not a federation like the United States, but a single entity. It is inconceivable that the franchise laws for Lancashire should be diametrically opposed to those for Surrey. It certainly wouldn't satisfy the Suffragists, who would not consent to wait for the enfranchisement of womanhood until the most backward county had been converted; and it wouldn't meet the difficulties of Mr. Asquith, for if he finds it hard to overcome his obstinate opposition to women's enfranchisement, he would find it doubly hard at one and the same time to enfranchise women and introduce such a revolutionary change in the Constitution as Mr. Massingham suggests.

Mrs. Pankhurst Out on Bail

We announced last week that Mrs. Pankhurst had been committed for trial at the Summer Assizes at Guildford, and that as these would not come on until June she had refused to give any undertaking as to her conduct over so long a period. Bail was accordingly refused, and she was remanded in custody. After she had remained in Holloway for twenty-four hours, during which we understand she adopted the hunger strike, the Government arranged to get over the difficulty by removing her case to the Old Bailey, so that it will come on in the course of the Assizes which commence on April 1. Under these circumstances Mrs. Pankhurst gave the required undertaking, and was released on bail.

Miss Lenton Dangerously Ill

We learn with great apprehension that Miss Lenton is still dangerously ill owing to the effects of a single operation of forcible feeding in prison. A great deal of interest has attached to the case in consequence of the attitude of the Mayor of Richmond, the magistrate who refused bail to Miss Lenton in the first instance. He has accused the Home Secretary of illegality in releasing the woman from prison. Mr. McKenna, in his defence, pleads the serious state of Miss Lenton before her release, which he attributes to the hunger strike, omitting all mention of the fact that she was fed by force, and that it was immediately subsequent to this operation that the dangerous symptoms developed. We hope searching questions will be addressed to Mr. McKenna on this subject from all sides of the House when Parliament reassembles. In the meantime, it is rumoured that the prison doctor who performed the operation has sent in his resignation.

Perils of Forcible Feeding

The condition of Miss Lenton illustrates one of the perils attaching to the brutal operation of forcible feeding which we have from the first sought to impress upon our readers and the general public. Artificial feeding may be, as many doctors are fond of reiterating, a comparatively safe process, but in such cases the patient does not offer any strenuous resistance. Forcible feeding of a prisoner who is violently struggling is a totally different thing. It is dangerous, firstly, because of the shock to the system, which is liable to cause death by heart failure, and, secondly, owing to the likelihood of food being injected into the lung, setting up septic pneumonia. It is this second danger which has been converted into reality in the case of Miss Lenton. Meanwhile the brutal practice of forcible feeding is still continued, and daily several of the Suffrage prisoners are subjected to its horrors.

Newspaper Incitements

We are glad to see that the Press are beginning to be a little ashamed of the campaign of incitement by which they have been endeavouring to egg on the more inflammable section of the public to ill-treat and mob the Suffragettes. Or is it that they are beginning to realise that the only public who can be incited to such action are a few street larrikins and students, while the indignation of the decent public is reserved for the editors and sub-editors who have so prostituted their office? Thus the *Globe*, in its leading article of Tuesday last, says:—

> It is quite impossible to condone the campaign of violence which is being directed against Suffragists in London. No doubt the wanton folly of the militants has greatly stirred public opinion against them. But these disgraceful attacks are the work of a few hooligans and excitable students. . . . But as by their own violence they [the militant suffragists] have destroyed their cause, it might easily be revived by the violence of their opponents.

Political methods of suppression are accordingly once again recommended.

The Westminster Gazette

A paragraph still more engaging in its candour occurs in the *Westminster Gazette* of Tuesday:—

> We regret the scenes which yesterday attended the meeting of Suffragists, even though they appear to have had no more formidable basis than a medical students' "rag." We are beginning to see some of the dangers of an appeal to force on the part of the women in the liberty which is being claimed by the rowdy element in the male population. So far nothing very serious has happened, simply because the hostility has been governed by the rough good-temper of the "rag." That men as a whole do not take militancy as other than a game is clear enough from what is happening in the streets, where flowers are purchased from charming ladies engaged in what is known as a "self-denial" movement. Nobody who purchases does so with any thought or intention of subscribing to bombs or fire-lighters. . . . There is indignation enough, but it is indignation that a sex privilege should be so abused.

Meanwhile the Glasgow correspondent of the *Standard*, who evidently has not learnt to read between the lines of what he sees in the average London newspaper, writes:—

> A professional woman violinist is helping the suffragists of Glasgow in their "self-denial" crusade in the streets. In contrast with the public attitude to the performers in London she has had a hearty reception.

And wherever we are able to obtain the true facts we find that the great mass of the respectable citizens are supporting the women, while only a few of the most disreputable are being led on by the Press to attack them.

A Miscarriage of Justice

An illustration of how biased is the administration of justice in the police courts is provided by the case of two women who took out an organ into the London streets to make money for the cause. In view of the violent articles in the London Press they had expected some opposition, and were accordingly agreeably surprised at the friendliness shown them by the public everywhere. On their way home with the organ they were stopped by a block in the traffic, and a number of small boys thought it a good opportunity for a bit of rough play. A group of them accordingly got together and upset the organ, and as a crowd was collecting one of the women thought it better to call the police lest a disturbance should arise. The police came, and the women went with them to a police station to make a report. To their astonishment they were charged with obstruction, and later the charge was upheld by the magistrate at Marlborough Street, who told them that they must have foreseen that to go out with an organ would be to create obstruction, and that therefore they must have intended to create it! One woman was bound over, the other, who refused, was ordered to pay a fine of 30s. or go to prison for fifteen days.

"The Most Idiotic Speech"

In an article on woman suffrage in the *Saturday Review*, from which we quote at length elsewhere, there are some cutting things said about the way in which the Cabinet have treated the question of woman suffrage. "The chief responsibility for this intolerable state of affairs rests," says our contemporary, "with the Government. A policy of weakness, evasion and trickery, of threat and cajolement, violence and complacence has produced its result. Mr. Hobhouse, by perhaps the most idiotic speech ever made by a member of a government, has given to the conspirators a weapon invaluable to their success in moulding the weaker instruments by whom their bidding is done." Really we couldn't say anything more to the point ourselves!

Women Liberals

While the Executive of the Women's Liberal Federation have been passing a resolution recording that for six years they have "consistently deplored and condemned the lawless methods of the militants which have so grievously set back the cause of woman suffrage," there are indications that among the rank and file a different spirit is manifesting itself. At Leicester a resolution to disband the Leicester W.L.A. in view of the treatment of woman suffrage by the Government was only defeated by a single vote. Following upon this the president and twelve of the most active of the officers and members of the Committee handed in their resignations. In other places the malcontents are carrying resolutions in the local W.L.A. urging on the Executive of the Federation a stronger line of action on Woman Suffrage. They are holding back resignations in the hope that they may be able to secure a united vigorous policy when the Council meets. As the meeting takes place in two months' time there seems a considerable tactical advantage in this course.

Women Candidates for the L.C.C.

The London County Council Elections took place on Thursday after we had gone to press. Few women were among the candidates, and of these none were expected to secure election. In a letter to the *Times* Mrs. Humphry Ward, whose anti-suffrage views are well known, supplies the reason. Neither Moderates nor Progressives are prepared to give able and tried women the opportunity of standing for safe seats. What Mrs. Ward fails to see is that this is due to the fact that both parties are run by the political machines, and that so long as women are deprived of the political vote they will be reckoned of no account by the political bosses. Mrs. Humphry Ward also deplores the present state of the law by which capable women are shut out from becoming candidates. The speediest way of getting this put to rights we can assure her is to give women political power.

An Important Decision

We are glad to see that the Privy Council have granted to Mr. Arnold the right of appeal against his conviction, and that though he has already been released on the expiry of his sentence, he intends to avail himself of the permission to rediscuss the case. The facts are as follows:—A planter in Rangoon was charged with the rape of a Malay girl of tender years. He was brought before the local magistrate, who immediately granted him bail, and at the subsequent hearing of the case discharged him. Mr. Arnold, who was editor of the *Burma Critic*, accused the magistrate of gross partiality, alleging that there was ample prima facie evidence on which the planter ought to have been committed for trial, and that one of the reasons why this was not done was that the magistrate was a personal friend of the planter. Mr. Arnold was charged with criminal libel and sentenced to a year's imprisonment, which was subsequently reduced to four months, an appeal being refused by the judge who tried the case. The greatest interest has been taken by the people of Rangoon, who are impressed by the fact that an Englishman should have risked his reputation and his liberty to take up the cudgels on behalf of a little girl of an alien race. A public subscription has been got up, and it is in consequence of this that the recent case before the Privy Council was heard. We shall await the further proceedings with interest.

Item of Note

The judges have ruled in the case of Miss Janie Allan's supertax that though a woman is not a person for the purpose of the franchise, she is a person for the purpose of paying taxes.

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THE OTTOMAN

By G. Colmore

If women would only attend to business, they wouldn't have time to go about doing these dreadful things. That was what Miss Simkins said. She said it because she was in business herself—she was a dressmaker—and had as much work as she could get through. When, as happened occasionally, she had a free evening, she went to a cinematograph show "to take her mind off." It was in vain that the Suffragette on the floor below assured her that nothing would take her mind off so effectually as a suffrage meeting; Miss Simkins maintained that she didn't hold with the Suffragettes and their carryings on, and that as for going to any of their meetings, she wouldn't demean herself to any such thing. She was a highly respectable person, genteel in appearance and superior in manner, and had indeed been so upset when the vacant floor below had been taken by a typist who was also a Suffragette, that she was in two minds as to whether she would not change her residence—for that was what Miss Simkins called her couple of rooms in number three, Arbour Street, N. But if she moved, she might lose her connection, and that would never do, for she took ladies' own materials from the wives and daughters of some of the biggest tradesmen in the neighbourhood. So she worked off the shock in a bilious attack, and kept her head very high when she met the Suffragette on the stairs.

Now, she might have held indefinitely on this lofty way but for the fact that her residence happened to be on the top floor and that the only water tap was in the basement, and she was obliged therefore to carry a daily pail up four flights of stairs. Miss Simkins, superior in spirit, was bodily somewhat feeble, and sometimes, when carrying the pail, was taken with a stitch in her side; and one day, when the Suffragette was coming up the stairs two steps at a time, she came across Miss Simkins, panting and pallid on a landing. In a minute she had carried the pail up the remaining flight and stood it by the side of Miss Simkins's door, and in another minute she was back and making as though she would carry up Miss Simkins. But the dressmaker had by this time recovered and said she was quite well now, thank you, and required no further assistance, being at the same time much obliged to Miss—Jones, she believed?—for carrying the—er—bucket. The Suffragette said that her name was Jones, and that Miss Simkins looked a poor thing, and she intended to see her to her room.

So *could* Miss Simkins avoid asking her to come in? She couldn't, of course, considering how she had been brought up; so she bowed to the politely inevitable. The Suffragette, equally, of course, should have refused the invitation, but instantly showed her cloven hoof by accepting it. Miss Simkins's room—her show room, was elegant, with a business elegance combined with touches of domesticity. There were family photographs cheek by jowl with yards of ladies' own materials, lying gracefully on shelf or table or rippling over the backs of chairs; there was a cupboard with tea-things, and a dress stand attired in a coat and skirt; there was a kettle on the hob and hand screens on the mantelpiece; and there was the supreme pride of Miss Simkins's heart and business, a long, unwieldy piece of furniture which its owner called an otto*man*. On Sundays the otto*man* was covered with a red shawl, and Miss Simkins sat on it; but this was a week day, and it was littered with fashion plates and odds and ends of all sorts.

The Suffragette was obviously impressed by the style and magnitude of Miss Simkins's business; and because she was impressed, and because she had a face that Miss Simkins couldn't help liking (say to herself as she would that it was bold), and because she would persist in talking to Miss Simkins as if they had known each other for at least a year, the heart of Miss Simkins softened to the Suffragette, and she entered upon a friendship touched with the fascination of forbidden fruit. Not that Miss Simkins acknowledged the friendship. Oh, no; she called it an acquaintance, and continued to regard the Suffragette as a young person of doubtful morality. But it was there, nevertheless, aglow in Miss Simkins's heart; and suddenly it flared up in a most unexpected way.

It was a Friday afternoon, and Miss Simkins was hard at work on the wedding garments for the marriage of Miss Cornell, the fishmonger's daughter, which garments had been promised for Saturday evening—"D.V." had said Miss Simkins, by which she meant, if nothing went wrong with her health or the sewing machine The sewing machine was working admirably on the dark purple silk which was to clothe the bride's mother, when the door was thrown open and in burst the Suffragette.

"I've come to say good-bye. They're after me," she said.

"Why—what—who?" gasped Miss Simkins.

"The police. There's been a pillar-box outrage—in the next street—and a boy has set them on me. They'll be here just in a minute."

"The police——' You——! Oh, never tell me you did it!"

"Well, I didn't—not this time; and that's just why they're sure to arrest me. I was looking at the stuff coming out, and this boy, just as I got to the door here—he'd followed me, I suppose—said he'd seen—— There they are!"

In truth there was a tremendous knocking going on at the front door, and a sound of voices came up from below. The Suffragette looked out of the window. "There's quite a crowd," she said; then turned to Miss Simkins. "I thought it'ld be a shock to you if I was taken and you knew nothing about it." Miss Simkins was quite pale, and, as she herself would have said, all of a quiver. She looked distractedly round the room; at the dress stand—now in bridal array; at the cupboard; at the otto*man*, which stood open, half-filled with wedding garments; and suddenly a gleam came into her eyes.

"They shan't take you," she said. "Get in there!" and swiftly tossed the contents of the otto*man* on to the floor. The Suffragette's eyes didn't gleam, they danced, as she obeyed Miss Simkins; and in a minute she lay concealed beneath the wedding finery of Miss Cornell's various relations. All this time there were sounds of disturbance going on below, steps, voices, moving of furniture; and now the steps and voices were on the last flight of stairs. When the knock came at the door, Miss Simkins was hard at work on the purple silk, her heart in her mouth, but her courage oozing up from her boots to her head.

"And pray, what should I know about her?" she said in answer to the policemen's questions. "I don't hold with Suffragettes, as anyone in the house can confirm my words."

"That may be, but we've been all through the house, and this is the house the boy saw her go in."

"Boy!" said Miss Simkins. "Who takes any notice of boys? Limbs of mischief, *I* call them."

"Well, anyhow, we must search your premises."

"I suppose it's the law," replied Miss Simkins. "Proceed!" She turned away. "I've got a wedding order promised for to-morrow, so I hope you won't object if I go on with my work." However she did it she couldn't say; the seam was quite crooked, and the Suffragette had to unpick it that evening; but she kept the machine going. Barely pausing to bow in answer to the apologetic statements of the policemen that there must be some mistake, she kept the machine going till they were down the stairs and out of the front door, and all the house was quiet again; and then she stopped and said to the Suffragette, "You can come out now"; and when the Suffragette was out, Miss Simkins burst into tears. Then the Suffragette kissed her, and said she was splendid, and boiled the kettle, and they had a cup of tea together; and Miss Simkins was not quite sure whether she ought to be proud or ashamed of herself. Had she been bad? Had she been bold? Anyhow, she had been extraordinarily cunning.

The end of it all was that the very next week, cajoled by that Suffragette, she went to a Suffrage meeting; and she found that it *did* take her mind off.

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DRAMA AND MUSIC

Miss Eva Moore as Eliza

All good Suffragists should go to the Criterion Theatre, where Miss Eva Moore, that firm friend of the movement, is playing the principal part in Mr. H. V. Esmond's delightful farce, "Eliza Comes to Stay." Through Miss Moore's interpretation Eliza becomes a fine comedy part rather than the farcical caricature she might easily be made by an actress who was less sure of her art; and we fall in love with her even when she first appears as the dreadfully unprepossessing young woman who has been brought up in the belief that all men are "ravening wolves," and that to wear pretty clothes is to render one's self "dangerous." Eliza is certainly "safe" when she first appears on the scene, but we are fascinated by her all the same; for the worst clothes in the world—by the way, where *did* Miss Moore pick up such a terrible blouse and skirt?—cannot destroy the charm of her voice, and her "Eva Moore" way of saying things One of the best scenes in the play is, indeed, the one in which, still in the frock that is "safe," she discusses Sandy (Mr. H. V. Esmond), who is shamming slumber, with his elderly friend (Mr. Eric Lewis), who afterwards distresses her so much by wanting to marry her. He doesn't marry her, for this is the kind of play in which problems do not flourish and the course of true love is always smooth. But anyone who wants to enjoy a charming bit of farcical comedy, admirably acted throughout, should not miss seeing "Eliza Comes to Stay."

Madame Langley's Recital

Madame Beatrice Langley gave an interesting violin recital at the Bechstein Hall last Tuesday. Her technique, which is admirable, showed to best advantage, perhaps, in the Fantasia-Appassionata of Vieuxtemps; but her rendering of a Sarabande and Bourrée of Bach was also very fine and scholarly. Indeed, we liked her best in the Bach and in the Mozart Concerto (E flat); in the lighter music, especially the Defauw Berçeuse, she seemed to be playing a little below her own level, though her execution was never at fault for a moment.

THE "VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Colours: Purple, White, and Green

Votes for Women Fellows have been very busy during the week in making use of the last number of Votes for Women as propaganda for the unconverted, and very encouraging results have been forwarded to the Editors.

One Fellow writes from Edinburgh that she has been giving away each week several copies to her friends, and now some of them have promised to take the paper for themselves. Another says that she has arranged that it shall be placed each week in the public reading-room of her town. Another, who goes out to earn her living, says she has been selling the paper in the street during her lunch hour.

A Fellow who lives in Sheffield writes that though she is not a member of any suffrage society, she frequently speaks for the cause, and finds the paper of the utmost value to her. She also sends one copy away each week to India, and another to a local golf club.

Mrs. Saul Solomon sent a special subscription to the office to be employed in posting the paper to women likely to be interested, and many others have bought additional copies and forwarded them to their friends. At the same time, the number of posters exhibited each week is being steadily increased by the exertion of members of the Fellowship; and so the knowledge of the paper is being brought to a wider and a wider circle.

We congratulate the Fellows upon the work which they have done, and invite their co-operation with us in still further making the paper known among their friends during the next few weeks. We have proved over and over again in the course of this movement that it is personal contact, and personal contact alone, which brings new recruits into the fold, and it is by personal contact more than by any other method that new readers of our paper will be obtained. It is the friends and acquaintances of our readers that we want most of all as new readers. And when they have themselves come to take it regularly, and to regard it as their own, then we shall look to them to introduce it to *their* friends, and so on in ever-widening circles.

We also count upon particularly on the Votes for Women Fellows to help the paper by dealing solely with those firms which advertise in our columns. By doing so, and by carefully informing the manager when they pay their bills of the reason for their custom, they can be of the utmost service to the cause.

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FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To March 4, 1913.)

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	166	3	9
Miss A. Somers	0	5	0
Miss H. M. Murray..	0	2	6
Mrs. Saul Solomon...	0	10	6
Mrs. Stammwitz ...	0	2	0
Miss Dorothy Granville	0	10	0
Miss M. Parsons......	0	5	0
Mrs. Scurfield.........	1	1	0
Donation from Petersfield Meeting	2	2	0
The Misses Allen-Brown	0	10	0
Mrs. Anderson	1	0	0
Miss A. M. Scott ...	0	10	0
Miss Alice Jenkinson	0	2	6
Total..................	173	4	3

LAW-ABIDING SUFFRAGISTS IN COUNCIL

New By-Election Policy Adopted—"Asquith Must Go"—Labour Party to be Supported—Concentration on a Government Measure and a United Cabinet

The annual Council meeting of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was opened at the Holborn Hall on Thursday, February 27, under the presidency of Mrs. Fawcett. The second session, which was held on Friday, was prolonged over the week-end, and a statement was afterwards issued to the Press, the proceedings having been private. Nearly 800 delegates attended the Conference, and the most important points settled related to (1) the Union's by-election policy, which will no longer be directed towards the individual support of Suffragist candidates of all parties; (2) the rejection of the Prime Minister's new pledge, and concentration on a Government measure; (3) the adoption of such measures as will tend to bring an undivided Cabinet into power.

Mrs. Fawcett's Speech

In the course of her presidential address, Mrs. Fawcett said:—

"Speaking three years ago on the subject of woman suffrage, a member of the present Cabinet, Mr. Birrell, stated that there had been enough of 'shuffling and delay.' We cordially agreed with him, but it appears that shuffling and delay are all we are likely to get from the present Government. . . . The assurances we had received from Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Edward Grey, Lord Haldane, Sir John Simon, and other eminent men that the opportunity offered to us of moving woman suffrage amendments to the Government Bill was the best chance suffragists had ever had came to nought, and can only be regarded as a rhapsody of words. . . . If the fiasco of the Government in January is attributable to the Speaker, why, it may be asked, should we blame the Government for it? We blame the Government for this reason: they had given us definite and absolute promises; they had 'torpedoed' our other opportunity of success; they had spoken of our prospects, not only as a good chance, but as a practical certainty; they suddenly found themselves in the position of not being able to redeem their pledges. What did they do? They did not consult us as to what we should consider the best available equivalent to what we had been promised. They declined to see us when we sought an interview with them, and then, instead of trying to give us any reasonable equivalent, they offered us the discredited expedient of a private member's Bill.

"Everyone knows that there is not the slightest chance of a private member's Bill on a big subject like this becoming law. Even if it passes all its stages in the House of Commons it would be thrown out in the Lords, and we cannot expect Conservative suffragists to use the Parliament Act, which they detest, in order to pass a Suffrage Bill in a second or third session."

The Labour Party

Mrs. Fawcett then dwelt on the resolution passed at the recent Labour Conference, pledging the Labour Party to oppose any Franchise Bill that did not include women, and characterised its importance as "tremendous," and said it was "one of the most generous things that has ever been done in politics."

At the First Session

On Thursday the following resolutions were carried:—

(1) That the N.U.W.S.S. welcomes the resolution of the Labour party passed at their conference in London in January, 1913, calling upon the party in Parliament to oppose any Franchise Bill in which women are not included.

(2) That the N.U.W.S.S. does not regard the offer of facilities for a private member's Bill as an equivalent of the Prime Minister's pledges with respect to an amendment to the Franchise Bill, and calls upon the Government to redeem its pledge in the only way now possible by immediately introducing a Government measure giving votes to women.

(3) That the N.U.W.S.S., believing that a private member's Bill can have little chance of becoming law in the lifetime of this Parliament, resolves, while placing no obstacle in the way of such a Bill, to concentrate on work for a Government measure for women's suffrage and to adopt such a policy as will be most likely to bring an undivided Cabinet in favour of women's suffrage into power.

An "Urgency" Resolution

Mrs. Fawcett, on behalf of the executive, moved urgency for the following resolution protesting against militant methods, which she characterised as "most profoundly wrong both from an historic and moral point of view":—

"That the council of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies reiterates the protest against militant methods which was made by the National Union in 1908, 1909, 1911, and 1912. The union remains convinced that the use of violence in political propaganda is wrong in itself and injurious to the cause of women's suffrage."

The resolution was carried.

New By-election Policy

During the later session the following resolution, relating to the new by-election policy of the Union, was carried:

That the election policy of the N.U.W.S.S. be as follows:—

1. The general objects in all by-elections shall be to shorten the term of office of the Cabinet, as at present constituted, especially by opposing anti-Suffragist Ministers.
2. To strengthen any party in the House of Commons which adopts woman suffrage as part of its official programme.

"Asquith Must Go"

The new policy of the Union, as the *Standard* points out, "may fairly be summarised in the phrase, 'Asquith must go.'" The following is the account of the Council's proceedings which was issued by the N.U.W.S.S.:—

In pursuance of the resolutions passed at the previous session, reaffirming the determination of the council to work for a Government measure and to adopt such a policy as would be likely to bring an undivided Cabinet into power, the council on Friday proceeded to discuss the most effective means for obtaining this end. It determined to take a strong tactical line which would make itself immediately felt in the constituencies. The former policy was relinquished of working for individual members of all parties who are favourable to the suffrage. Its non-party policy was developed on the lines of strengthening any party in the House which adopts woman suffrage as part of its official programme. As things stand at present the Labour party is the only one which has done this.

Non-Party Solution Rejected

The vigorous speeches in support of the resolutions proposed by the executive demonstrated conclusively that the non-party solution of the question of woman suffrage by means of a private member's Bill was no longer feasible, and Mr. Asquith had made it clear that no Government measure for woman suffrage would be introduced. Liberals would therefore be prevented from giving practical expression on this one vital question to the principles which they professed. The council was strongly of opinion that the policy to be adopted at by-elections must be aimed at shortening the term of office of the Cabinet as at present constituted. To this end it resolved that no Government candidate should be supported, though the few remaining "tried friends" of woman suffrage should not be opposed, and to give effect to its determination to strengthen the Labour party the powers of the election fighting fund for supporting Labour candidates were considerably extended.

To Attack Anti-Suffrage Liberals

In considering plans of work in preparation for the next general election it was decided to concentrate on the attack of seats held by anti-suffrage Liberal members, particularly Ministers; to undertake the defence of seats held by Labour members who have taken a strong line in support of woman suffrage, and to support candidates standing in the interests of Labour in any constituency where such action was thought advisable by the executive, provided always that the Labour candidate was personally satisfactory on the suffrage question. The council was strongly urged to begin work at once in those constituencies which are tactically important.

It was pointed out that the policy adopted by the council, though aiming at the shortening of the term of office of the Prime Minister and the present Cabinet, was not an anti-Liberal policy as such. In seeking to attain its object the National Union, whether by the support of satisfactory Conservative or Labour candidates, was putting pressure on the party in power to give expression to a fundamental principle of democracy, and to redeem the loss of prestige which the House of Commons had suffered in allowing party considerations to outweigh responsibilities incurred in respect to woman suffrage.

A Labour Comment

The *Daily Citizen* (March 4) comments thus on the new policy:—

The speakers made it plain that they were embarking on this course not because the members of the union have any animus against their friends among Liberal members of Parliament, or because they are antagonistic to the principles of Liberalism, but simply because they desire votes for women and have realised that they can only obtain them by putting such pressure on the Government in power as would persuade it that the introduction of a Government measure for women's suffrage would be a lesser ill than loss of office. . . . The union's new policy, vis-a-vis the Liberal party, is rather that of a chess player trying to win the game from an opponent who may be a friend, than that of a soldier going into deadly battle against a blood-enemy. As regards its relations with the Labour party, it is helping a good and proved friends who has done far more than any other friend for its cause. It is an alliance, not an identification of interests, for there are thousands of women in the union who do not now give allegiance to any party, whatever they may do when they have won their vote.

CONSTITUTIONAL SUFFRAGISTS AND MILITANCY

"Symptoms of a Social and Political Disease"

An article by Mrs. Fawcett in the current issue of the *Common Cause*, on "Militancy and the Responsibility of the Government," contains the following passages:—

"This is not the first time in the history of the world that political discontent has led to social disorder. The Irish Nationalist and agrarian movement, the unrest in India, the strike riots in South Wales are fairly recent instances which will at once occur to everyone. These social and political upheavals were accompanied by murders, accidental loss of life, arson, and other outrages, compared with which the destruction of orchids, the bursting of a bomb in an unoccupied house, and the burning of an empty refreshment pavilion are the veriest bagatelles. But did responsible statesmen, in face of the Irish and Indian problems, sit down and complacently say 'You are naughty children, and we will not even consider whether you have any genuine grievances until you are perfectly quiet and orderly.' We know, of course, that they did nothing of the sort. They sought the causes of the disaffection and rebellion against the law, and endeavoured to mitigate or remove them. . . . I have said again and again, and I repeat now, that the 'suffragette' disorders are symptoms of a social and political disease. . . . Statesmen are the physicians of the body politic, and a wise physician will treat not only the symptom, but its root and cause. . . . .

The "Suffragist" Ministers

"If Sir Edward Grey, Lord Morley, Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Haldane, Mr. Runciman and other suffragist members of the Cabinet had, after the definite and solemn (but unfulfilled) pledges that were given to us by Mr. Asquith in November, 1911, come boldly out before the country urging with all the force and eloquence at their command, not merely once or twice, but again and again in all their utterances on public affairs, the absolute necessity for dealing promptly with the claim of women to some share in the management of their own affairs, militantism would have been absolutely killed. They had not the courage to take this course, and militantism has gone on from bad to worse."

"Comparatively Trivial Offences"

In answer to Lady Frederick Cavendish's denunciation of militant methods, which appeared in the *Times* of February 28, Mrs. Fawcett wrote a letter, in the course of which she says:—

"What a pen for such a theme! When one remembers the bloodstained record of the Nationalist movement in Ireland, the 'fee grief' it brought in 1882 to one breast, and Lady Frederick Cavendish's subsequent attitude towards the Irish movement, one can but stand amazed at the different measure she metes out to the comparatively trivial offences of the militant suffragists. This is not to condone so-called militantism, which I detest, whether practised by men or women; but to invite those who share Lady Frederick Cavendish's views as to the manner in which statesmen should deal with political unrest at least to apply them impartially."

Lady Frederick Cavendish, replying to Mrs. Fawcett in the *Times* of March 5, says:—

My desire was simply that law-abiding Suffragists should consent to hang up their cause for a time (most probably it would be for a very short time) in order to bring to an end methods of action which, if hitherto they have just avoided murder, are daily breaking the peace of the country, injuring innocent people, and, worst of all, degrading womanhood; and that, not in concert with the vastly larger body of Suffragists, but in dead opposition to them. What has this in common with the Nationalist movement in Ireland? And how can these crazy doings be honoured with the title of "political unrest"?

NON-MILITANT SUFFRAGISTS BLAME THEMSELVES

Writing to the *Standard* (Woman's Platform) last Saturday, Miss Lilian Barber said:—

"We non-militant Suffragists are morally responsible for the tactics of the militants, whose actions in all probability would not have taken place if we had been sufficiently earnest and had done all we could to educate public opinion in favour of the enfranchisement of women, and had shown by all the peaceful means in our power the great need there is for men and women to co-operate in putting down evil and helping forward the cause of justice."

"The Government are to Blame"

Other constitutional correspondents of the same paper express themselves in similar terms. For instance, one writes from Carshalton, over the signature "E. S.," to proclaim herself a constitutional Suffragist, but at the same time to protest against the abuse of the militants in the Press. "When the movement started," she writes, "it was conducted in a peaceful, constitutional manner; for any departure from these methods the dishonourable, evading, unconstitutional tactics adopted by the Government are to blame. Waiting on Ministers, whose lips are ever ready with promises, and whose hands are proportionately slow to fulfilment, has convinced a section of Suffragists that the surest way of reaching the Government is through the country's pocket—hence the destructive policy. It is regrettable that such a condition of affairs should ever have been made possible; but for, presumably, sane persons to be so carried away by a superficial aspect of the case as to condemn the militants as hysterical, fit only for confinement in lunatic asylums, or for deportation, is surely as regrettable."

"Simply Cheering Our Side"

Another writer to the same paper, signing herself "Constitutionalist," says: "It is all very well for us law-abiding people to waste our wrath now in railing at our militant sister and shrieking that she is doing her best to remove the vote from the near future to an unattainable distance in the years to come. There is not a fragment of doubt in my mind that if we had put our backs into the work we should long ago have reached our goal. For more than fifty years women have been struggling for the vote, we say grandiosely. Yes, for more than fifty years women have been struggling for the vote—but how many women? Our leaders have done nobly; they have preached suffrage from the housetops; they have written books; they have battled against ignorance and carelessness and heedlessness. But we—what have we done?

"Most of us constitutional Suffragists—the rank and file, I mean—have simply done nothing. We have paid our subscriptions, attended tea-fights, proudly told scandalised friends that we were Suffragists, and—well, that is all. Not one in a hundred of us has got up, helped to get up, spoken at or even taken the chair at a meeting of any kind. We are simply watching the battle and cheering our side, when at the cost of very little effort and trouble we could make victory certain by joining in the fray ourselves."

A SENSIBLE PRESS COMMENT

Commenting upon a recent Suffragette outrage, a very sensible lady remarked to us that it was all most disgraceful and most regrettable; but, she added, "it would not happen if men were real men." And there is something in her argument. . . . While we decry the wild folly of smashing windows and wrecking the property of innocent people, even of persons who may be sympathetic to their cause, the exasperation of the cheated Suffragettes is not to be wondered at. The unmanly, deceptive, and useless Parliamentary manœuvring with which their cause has been treated reminds one of the futile military tactics of George III.'s son, which are celebrated in those familiar but not very brilliant lines:—

"Oh, the grand old Duke of York,
  He had ten thousand men;
He marched them up a great high hill,
  And he marched them down again."

In due time another chance will be offered to the women, and General Asquith will march his men up and march them down again, but he has not the remotest intention of giving women the vote.—**Licensing World.**

FORCIBLE FEEDING SCANDAL

Grave Case of Miss Lenton—Opinions of Eminent Doctors—Home Office Between Two Fires

There has been a great outcry on the part of the public and in the Press during the past week over the release from Holloway Gaol of Miss Lilian Lenton, on Sunday, February 22, particulars of which we gave in our last issue. It will be remembered that after fasting some forty-eight hours, Miss Lenton was forcibly fed once; food was projected into her lung so that her life was endangered, and she was precipitately released by order of the Home Secretary, and has since been lying seriously ill with septic pneumonia and pleurisy.

WHAT WE HAVE ALWAYS SAID

The thing that has come to pass in the case of Miss Lenton is the thing about which we have issued warnings in the columns of VOTES FOR WOMEN ever since the abomination of forcible feeding was first practised on the Suffragist hunger strikers in the autumn of 1909. We have never ceased to point out the immense danger that lay in the process of tube-feeding as administered in the prisons to men or women against their will. This danger, we showed, was twofold. There was the purely physical risk to throat and lungs incurred through the possibility of the food becoming deflected in its passage. **This has actually occurred in the case of Miss Lenton.**

There was further the shock to the nervous system caused by the subjection of a resisting patient to an operation which, even if conducted with trained help and with the co-operation of the patient, is acknowledged to be full of risk both to heart and nerves.

"Death May Be Brought About"

In VOTES FOR WOMEN, October 1, 1909, we said:—

"This procedure is fraught with great suffering, particularly where the patient deliberately resists its application, and may result in exceedingly serious injury. In the first place, the struggles of the patient are liable to cause grave laceration of the throat by the tube. In the second place, the hard part of the tube may be brought into contact with parts of the stomach and serious injuries result. *In the third place, during the entrance of the tube into the throat or its removal there is a risk that some of the food may enter the lung, and that in consequence septic pneumonia may result.* Finally, owing to the struggles of the patient during the operation and the exhaustion which follows there is grave danger to the heart, and syncope may ensue. From any one of these causes death may be brought about."

"Only By a Miracle"

In our issue of July 5, 1912, we said:—

"It is only by a miracle that there has as yet been no tragedy in the prisons, seeing that in hospital cases of tube-feeding, where the patient is willing and the operation is conducted by trained assistants only, the utmost skill and care is required to avoid fatal results. It is time for the public to know the price that is being paid by these plucky women, who stake their lives upon the result of their protest every time they endure the unspeakable horrors of forcible feeding sooner than sacrifice a great principle."

WHAT EMINENT DOCTORS HAVE SAID

From time to time we have printed the opinions of eminent physicians and surgeons sent to us for publication.

Dr. Forbes Winslow

Dr. Forbes Winslow, the well-known specialist, sent us his opinion of forcible feeding, which we printed in our issue of October 1, 1909. "The chief risks," he says, "are severe injury to the mouth by the gag, which must be used in such cases to force the mouth open, a serious tendency to break the teeth and injure the mouth. . . . I have known a case in which the tongue has been partly bitten off where it has been twisted behind the feeding tube. Should there be any tendency to lung weakness, then avoid such an extremity. Severe heart disease, or even that complaint in a mild form, is liable to cause serious consequences, even if not sudden death.

"I might at once say that in normal individuals the very fact of resorting to forcible feeding is to injure the digestive organs, to aggravate any bronchial condition which may exist, and to cause dangerous chronic symptoms in those in whom it is used. It is now many years since I have cared to resort to such measures, and I should be very sorry to have occasion to advise them."

Sir Victor Horsley

Sir Victor Horsley, in a letter to the *Times* (reproduced in our columns, December 24, 1909), gives the following as effects of tube-feeding:—"Pain, congestion of the nose and pharynx, leading, in my own hospital experience, to ulceration of the nasal mucous membrane, retching, vomiting and depression."

In another letter to the *Westminster Gazette* about the same time, Sir Victor Horsley says:—"I think forcible feeding is a miserable expedient of a weak Minister and an outrage on a political offender."

Mr. Mansell-Moullin

Mr. Mansell-Moullin, vice-president of the College of Surgeons, has been equally emphatic again and again. In a letter written to VOTES FOR WOMEN (July 5, 1912), he says:—"The result of attempting it is that in a few days' time the prisoner has to be sent out at all cost. Can there be a stronger condemnation of such a practice? In the course of a few days it brings a person who is certified as perfectly able to stand it absolutely to death's door. I have seen some of those who were discharged, and I can quite understand the eagerness of the authorities to get rid of the responsibility of keeping them further. They showed some wisdom. . . . In the name of humanity, this system must be stopped at once."

Dr. Louisa Garrett Anderson

In a letter which we reprinted from the *Lancet* on July 5, 1912, Dr. L. Garrett Anderson writes thus on the forcible feeding of Suffragist prisoners:—

"Even if the operation were free from risk it would, under such circumstances, be indefensible from a medical standpoint and an outrage from a human one; but artificial feeding, under the most favourable circumstances, is not devoid of danger when continued for any length of time, and under prison conditions the risk is greatly increased.

"Abrasions of the mucous membrane occur; the avoidance of septic infection must be difficult or impossible, owing to the struggle and absence of skilled assistance and hospital equipment, while *the passage of food into the lungs, or heart failure, may cause the death of a patient who is held by force and who resists to the utmost of her power.*"

DEATHS FROM FORCIBLE FEEDING

Nor have we been without actual data to go upon in issuing our warnings against this barbaric process. In VOTES FOR WOMEN, October 27, 1911, we gave the case of Patrick Reardon, who had recently died in Bethnal Green Infirmary, *death being due to inflammation of the lungs, set up, the doctors thought, by some of the fluid food escaping into the lungs during forcible feeding.*

In our issue of December 20, 1912, we gave the following similar instance:—

"On Friday, December 13, an inquest was held on the body of James McGavigan, who died in the asylum of Letterkenny, co. Donegal, on the previous day. McGavigan had refused supper on Wednesday night and breakfast on Thursday, whereupon the doctor decided to feed him by nasal tube. He offered no resistance. A quarter of an hour later an attendant, noticing that the man was becoming white, applied remedial measures, and sent for the doctor. The latter on arrival, however, found that the man had died in the meantime. A verdict of 'Death from heart failure' was returned."

And in the case of a Suffragist prisoner, given in the *Lancet* Report on Forcible Feeding, published in that paper on August 24, 1912, the injection of food into the lung actually occurred, and she was hurriedly released, as in Miss Lenton's case, and found afterwards, like her, to be suffering from pneumonia and pleurisy. "Being a young and strong woman," concludes the Report, "she escaped with her life."

MISS LENTON'S CASE

Ignorance of the Public

What we have so often feared has, then, come to pass in the case of Miss Lenton; and it was in consequence of this terrible mishap that, within an hour or two of the operation that was practised upon her against her will (although she had been perfectly well beforehand), she was so dangerously ill that an order was issued by the Home Office for her release. Such, however, continues to be the ignorance of the public with regard to forcible feeding that the greatest outcry was instantly raised in the Press with regard to the Home Secretary's "leniency," and this was not allayed by the statement made by Mr. Travers Humphreys, who appeared on behalf of the Director of Public Prosecutions, in Richmond Police Court, on Thursday, February 27, when Miss Lenton failed to appear in answer to the charge of being concerned with Miss Joyce Locke in the burning of Kew pavilion.

"Would Undoubtedly Die Unless Released"

The Mayor of Richmond, having asked on what authority the Home Secretary had released Miss Lenton, Mr. Humphreys said:—"I am not, of course, directly representing the Home Secretary, but I am asked to tell the Bench that on Sunday the Home Secretary was informed that Miss Lenton *would undoubtedly die unless she was at once released from prison.* Acting on that opinion from medical men, he ordered her release. Counsel added that Miss Lenton was suffering from pleurisy and pneumonia."

The Mayor: "You do not produce a medical certificate as to her condition?"

Mr. Travers Humphreys: "No."

The Mayor: "Then the Bench will issue a warrant for Miss Lenton's arrest, so that they can hear evidence in support of this extraordinary procedure on the part of the Home Secretary."

THE HOME SECRETARY'S EXPLANATION

On February 28 the following letter appeared in the Press as having been sent from the Home Office to a correspondent:

Dear Sir,—I am desired by the Home Secretary to say that Lilian Lenton was reported by the medical officer at Holloway Prison last Sunday to be in a state of collapse, and in imminent danger of death consequent upon her refusal to take food. Three courses were open: (1) To leave her to die; (2) to attempt to feed her forcibly, which the medical officer advised would probably entail death in her existing condition; (3) to release her on her undertaking that she would surrender herself for the further hearing of her case. The Home Secretary adopted the last course.

On the further hearing of her case before the Richmond magistrates on Thursday she was still so seriously ill as to be unable to attend. The magistrates would have had a perfect right to issue a warrant for her arrest. In view of her condition they properly refrained from doing so, and contented themselves with comments on the Home Secretary's action. If the necessity should arise, it is always open to the magistrates to issue a fresh warrant, which, it is believed, the police would have no difficulty in executing.—Yours faithfully, F. W. HARRIS.

It will be seen on reading the above letter that (1) the impression is conveyed that Miss Lenton's serious condition was the result of fasting, and (2) that no mention is made of the forcible feeding that did take place and was the sole cause of her being "in imminent danger of death." In this way the real facts are kept from the public, and it is possible for an outcry to be raised demanding that a woman who was admittedly a dying woman on February 23 should be re-arrested and brought up for trial.

The Mayor's Contention

The Mayor of Richmond, however, continued to assert that the Home Office had invaded the prerogative of the Courts. In a letter to a correspondent, which appeared in the Press on March 3, he contended that

"If, when the doctor and the Governor discovered that their forcible feeding, as described by Lenton in a statement she has since issued, had endangered their unconvicted prisoner's life, they had taken the trouble to ring Sir James up on the telephone, they could probably have secured the woman's release on bail there and then on her own recognisances, especially as her true name had become known. This would have been done in the ordinary legal form consecrated by the experience of centuries. We must not forget that her guilt has not yet been legally proved. As it was, the Governor set his prisoner free on some sort of verbal pledge from her, made in this alleged condition of collapse and approaching death, that she would appear at the Richmond Police Court on Thursday. He made no effort to secure that appearance. He neither came himself nor sent an officer to explain the disappearance. He forwarded no medical certificate of the prisoner's condition, and he sent no doctor to explain it. He relied on Mr. McKenna to shield him in his illegal and unprecedented action. If the independence of the King's Courts, High or Petty, is to be maintained, this matter cannot rest as it is."

IMPORTANT STATEMENT FROM A CORRESPONDENT

A correspondent sends us the following account of a personal experience:—

"The symptoms described by Miss Lenton in the accident to her while being forcibly fed in prison are identical with the feelings I experienced when many years ago I accidentally had a mouthful of liquid food sent down into my lungs. At the time I nearly lost my life from asphyxiation, and afterwards pneumonia supervened and I was dangerously ill for weeks. I recognised the description of the 'noisy breathing' of Miss Lenton as my exact experience while the liquid was passing down the tubes of the lungs and the expelled air was passing up through the liquid outwards.

"Foreign matter getting into the lungs is an extremely rare accident in ordinary life, and a very grave one not only at the moment, but in its after effects should the patient recover. In my case the after effects have been life-long.

"I know of only one other similar accident, but it was to an animal. A spirited young horse of mine took colic, and had to be given a dose of castor oil. The coachman, for convenience in administering it, tied the horse's head upwards towards the roof of the stall, and poured the oil down its throat. The post mortem on the poor animal's body, after ten days of agonising coughing, revealed that the oil had gone into the lungs in place of the stomach, and had wandered through them in every direction. Thus an illness which was a simple colic only was turned into severe pneumonia and death.

What the Government are Risking

"I am quite sure the members of the Government do not know what they are risking in every instance of forcible feeding. It is to me a miracle that this accident has not happened before now. It is not fair to our prison doctors to oblige them to run the risk of killing by asphyxia human beings before their very eyes.

"Why on earth does not the Government prefer to end this horror by placing suffrage prisoners in the first division of the prison, which is what they are hunger-striking for, and what the public would much prefer to having their feelings harrowed daily by reading of all the dangers and tortures of forcible feeding?"

OUTCRY IN THE PRESS

Some method, other than feeble concession, must be devised to deal with the hunger-strikers; and if Mr. McKenna cannot frame one he should be relieved of his duties at the Home Office, just as it was necessary to find some stronger hands than his to take charge of the interests of the Navy.—**Standard.**

The Home Secretary is traditionally a target for all and sundry, but in this case, even if he acted without precedent (as to which we do not pretend to say), we are sure that his action will be approved as the only possible course open to him in difficult and highly exceptional circumstances.—**Westminster Gazette.**

We are afraid that we must say that the letter of the Mayor of Richmond deprives the release of Lilian Lenton of its last shred of justification. If Miss Lenton's life was endangered by her obstinacy, there was nothing whatever to prevent Mr. McKenna from bringing the fact to the knowledge of the magistrates who had committed her, and trusting to them to release her on bail on her own recognisances. That is the regular procedure in such cases, and, beyond the terror which the Suffragettes appear to have infused into the Home Secretary, we are unable to suggest any reason for departing from it.—**Globe.**

You may be a complete villain and succeed in life. You may be simply good and succeed equally well. But such a mixture of villainy and weakness as distinguishes the Home Office and Treasury in dealing with Suffragist law-breakers is a sure road to failure, whether for Governments or individuals. They want to be as bad as they can, but they dare not. Consequently they earn the contempt alike of the Suffragists and the mob of pressmen and clubmen who are howling for someone's blood. . . . In the defence which he has issued to the public in the convenient form of "a letter to a correspondent," he says that he had but three courses open to him, vis.: To release her; to kill her; or to leave her to die. By a form of treatment condemned by the consensus of medical opinion, his prisoner, on the Home Secretary's own admission, had been brought to the verge of death. It is not even now known whether she can recover. Yet it is only a few weeks since this man was assuring the House of Commons that the operation is not dangerous.—**Daily Herald**

WOMEN AND THE FRANCHISE

THE CASE FOR THE SUFFRAGETTE

By Charles A. McCurdy, M.P.

(Reprinted from the "Daily Chronicle," by kind permission of the Editor.)

Before the beatified dead in the Roman Church could take their place in the Calendar of Saints, a trial used to be necessary to adjudicate upon their claims to that distinction. Counsel appeared to plead the cause of the departed, and in order that both sides of the case might be fairly argued, there was assigned to the devil an advocate of his own to say anything that could be said from Satan's standpoint.

The militant suffragettes have not even a devil's advocate to say a word for them in the Press to-day.

It is unusual for revolutionaries, however violent—even Nihilists and regicides—to lack sympathisers among us, so long as their activities are confined to other countries. For violence at home the English people has no stomach, as the men of Ulster may some day find to their cost. Arson and bombs, broken glass and shattered houses may form a striking background to political aims viewed from a comfortable distance, but in the foreground they fill the picture so completely that we can hear nothing but the explosions, and see nothing but smoke. Any political significance is lost in the noise of people shouting for the fire brigade and the police.

The Intractable Gorilla

The Suffragist politician of a peaceful and prudent turn of mind, like myself, feels inclined to wash his hands of the whole matter, go home to bed, and prepare to establish his own alibi. For the consequences threaten to be serious. It is no question this time of a few weeks in the second division. Imprisonment in a criminal lunatic asylum, banishment for life from these shores, are only samples of the punishments demanded by a public justly irritated by outrageous attacks on property, and perhaps still more irritated by the obvious difficulty of securing adequate punishment of the offenders. For the Government appears to find itself in the difficulty once experienced by Du Chaillu. The explorer had in the course of his travels shot the mother of a young gorilla. Taking the orphan with him, he provided it with a suitable cage, and intended to bring it to Europe. Its intractable nature gave him just cause for complaint. It was unsociable, refused to take its food, and finally allowed itself to die of hunger. "I was powerless," says M. Du Chaillu, "to correct the evil disposition of the beast."

We have the same trouble with the Suffragette. We have tried kindness tempered with the second division, we have employed persuasion coupled with the stomach tube. She remains as unsociable as M. Du Chaillu's gorilla. It is no use reasoning with her—she is deaf to argument. In vain have scientists told her that her brain is some ounces lighter than that of man—she replies that she pays the same taxes. A distinguished physiologist has explained in the plainest of language that she is subject to sexual disturbances which at times unfit her for the exercise of calm judgment or reflection (so essential in a voter)—she asks whether the same might not have been said of Nelson, to say nothing of lesser men. If you tell her that the place for woman is the home, she will reply that there are some millions of women in our country engaged in factories, workshops, and other employments who have no home in which to find their place. Assure her that the interests of her sex are better safeguarded by the chivalry of the male voter than they could be by herself, and she inquires why the average wage paid to women workers is 7s. a week, while the enfranchised male gets four times as much pay for the same hours of labour. It is useless to reason with the Suffragette. We can only deplore the limits of her intellectual powers.

Erring on the Side of Logic

And yet it is a mistake to suppose, as so many of the public now think, that the Suffragette is insane. "Insanely sane, with lucid intervals of insanity," would more aptly describe her. Even when she refuses to recognise a Constitution under which all the women, and one-third of the adult men, are permanantly disfranchised, and denies the authority of minority-made laws, there is method in her madness. Indeed, I think she errs rather on the side of logic than of insanity, and it is because her behaviour is based on reason that we find her so incomprehensible. She is denied the essential attribute of citizenship in a democratic State, the right to be represented when laws are made which she will be expected to obey, when taxes are imposed which she will have to pay. She logically concludes that she is not a citizen, and, deprived of the privilege of citizenship, ought not to be subject to its penalties. "No taxation without representation," as the old-fashioned, out-of-date Liberal used to say.

The Suffragette has not kept pace with Liberalism in the development of this democratic ideal. She stands by the old Liberal doctrine, and adds quite logically, "A Government which denies all right of representation to women has no more right to punish than to tax." This is not insanity, but reason, which on the lips of a woman can be almost as irritating. And so she declines even to accept decent and orderly punishment at our hands.

She destroys property, not from an unreasoning rage for destruction, but from the rational standpoint of an intellectual anarchist, who wishes to demonstrate to a public who distrust logic, and do not know what a syllogism is, that she has been left outside their scheme of representative government and finds herself an outlaw in her own land. For that purpose she decides to break their laws, and as passive resistance proved a broken reed in the hands of the aggrieved Nonconformists, she selects more striking and dramatic forms of lawlessness, much to the embarrassment and annoyance of her friends. But our annoyance and our resentment of the methods adopted cannot for ever prevent us from considering the merits of her case, however irregularly presented.

When arrested she puts in a plea somewhat unusual in our courts of law. She objects to the jurisdiction. She denies our right to punish or even to try her. We cannot ignore her plea, when in the formula of the law courts she is asked if she has anything to say why judgment should not be passed upon her. We may reject the plea, but we are in honour bound to give our reasons.

What is Our Right to Punish?

By what right then do we claim to impose our laws on these women, and on what principle of good government are we entitled to punish them?

For my part I find the questions difficult to answer.

The basis of democratic government is the consent of the governed. Under our Constitution this consent of the governed in all important matters, changes in the law, the imposition of taxes, and the like, is expressed by the representatives of the people sitting in the House of Commons. Women are neither asked nor allowed to consent. They are no parties to the social contract by which the enfranchised assent to the making and administration of the laws. The only principle put forward for our justification is the doctrine that the Government represents, and ought to represent, the physical force of the country, and that as the possessors of physical force the male adults are entitled to impose their will upon those who are weaker than themselves. I cannot understand how any man can hold this view and at the same time call himself a democrat. Government by a minority of the adult population who deny any right of representation to the majority is certainly not democracy, whatever else it may be called. As a democrat I find her plea logical and unanswered.

But, it is said, this is not a question of principle, but of expediency. Great statesmen, for whose opinion I have the most profound respect, believe that the enfranchisement of women would be of no benefit to themselves and an injury to the State. The same argument was urged against every extension of the franchise to further classes of male voters. It may well be that the enfranchisement of women involves some risk, but it seems to me just the kind of risk which a consistent democrat is bound to take. If we dare not trust the people, we have no business to call ourselves democrats at all. And the Suffragette has a further plea why judgment should not be passed upon her—that we have closed all lawful ways to the Constitutional redress of her grievance. Whether she is right or wrong in her claim to be treated as a citizen for all purposes or none, no one will deny that women are entitled to have their case fairly argued on its merits and a true verdict given by the Supreme Court of Parliament. Our record is, unfortunately, not very good in the matter. Seven times in the last twenty-five years the House of Commons, after full debate, has given judgment for the women by passing the second reading of a Suffrage Bill.

"The will of the people as expressed by their representatives in the House of Commons shall and must prevail," said Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and the Parliament Act makes statutory the doctrine that the decision of the House of Commons thrice repeated after due intervals for reflection must have the effect of law. Can women be blamed if they demand that effect shall be given to the decision of the House of Commons seven times given in their favour? Is not their resentment natural when they at last realise that never in this Parliament will effect be given to those decisions? When they see their supporters divided into hostile camps, profoundly swayed by questions of tactics, motives of expediency, considerations of party—by anything, in fact, but the merits of their case?

The Only Way

Militancy, deplorable as it is, is perhaps only the inevitable consequence when a great political movement backed by fifty years of strenuous agitation finds all channels blocked, all safe outlets stopped up, all hope of a successful issue denied.

There is only one way to deal with militants.

Let us open our eyes to the fact that they are neither hysterical nor insane, that they are, with relentless logic and remarkable fortitude, pursuing a course which means to them much unhappiness and often physical anguish for ends which are neither foolish nor dishonourable. Make plain and easy for them a better way to take. Show them that there are still methods by which they can have their case fairly heard by the democracy of this country, and justly decided upon its merits without unreasonable delay, and they will gladly turn from methods of lawless propaganda, nauseating to themselves as they are abhorrent to others. But if it is not within the wit of man to give Women's Suffrage a fair chance of success, free from cross-currents and party considerations, let us at any rate refrain from unnecessary abuse of women who suffer imprisonment and great personal discomfort in trying to advance a perfectly legitimate cause by methods which are wrong and deplorable, but to which we are unable to offer any reasonable alternative.

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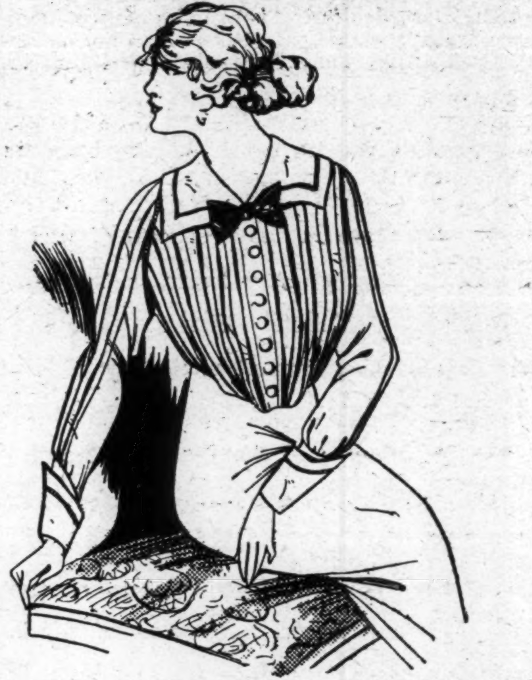

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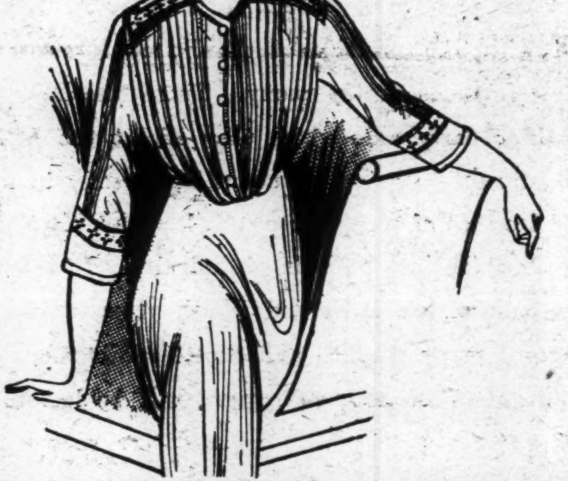

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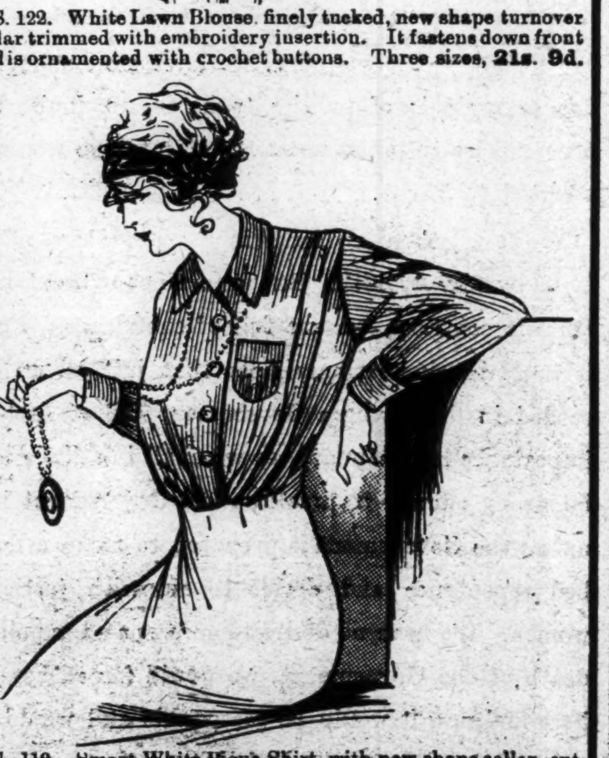

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By far the finest speeches in this volume are those delivered on the theme of human freedom. Macaulay's speech on the Government of India, in 1833; Abraham Lincoln's on the maintenance of the Union, in 1861 (really on the freeing of the slaves); Parnell's on the First Home Rule Bill, in 1886; James Russell Lowell's on Democracy:—how much finer are these than Lord Beaconsfield's Defence of his Budget, in 1852, or Lord Randolph Churchill's on Lord Salisbury's Policy, in 1886! Yet neither Lincoln nor Parnell was an orator in any accepted sense of the word. It was their cause that made them great speakers, and their homely phrases stand out in one's memory long after the polished periods of Archbishop Magee—whose speech against the Disestablishment of the Irish Church is a model of delicate irony and scholarly humour—have been forgotten by us. There is one passage in Parnell's speech which is very apposite at the present time. "Certainly," he says—

> I do condemn these outrages in Kerry; and the right honourable gentleman says very rightly that they must be put a stop to. Well, so say we all; but the right honourable gentleman would try to put a stop to them by resorting to the old, bad method of coercion, which he and his friends have been using for the last eighty-six years, while we say with the Prime Minister—"Try the effect of self-government"; and if Kerry men then resort to outrages they will very soon find that the rest of Ireland will put a stop to them.

If only we had a Prime Minister to-day with whom the women of Great Britain could say—"Try the effect of self-government!" when others talk hysterically of putting a stop to outrages by coercion.

And in this connection, it is perhaps interesting to give another quotation, this time from Lowell:—

> And under what frame of policy have evils ever been remedied till they became intolerable, and shook men out of their indolent indifference through their fears?

If men do not want women to follow their example when it comes to a struggle for human rights, they should suppress such books as the two series of "Famous Speeches," edited by Mr. Herbert Paul, of which this is the second.

CHILD LABOUR

To a woman who has faced the problem of the poor children of our great towns this is a desperately disheartening book.† Already on every side one is hindered, and not helped, by the laws, because these laws are framed by office-desk clerks and professional politicians; so that we are coming in England—even as in America—simply to ignore the law. And here is an American statistician with his tables and his figures, and his bibliography and his investigations, coming to declare that the child shall not work, and that all the evils of our big towns fall on the children because they work. There is not a single page of the book that shows any new or sympathetic point of view; you seem to see Mr. Clopper going through the streets with his notebook, going to the Settlement Library for references, writing for reports and comparing them, and then laboriously compiling these pages. Doubtless an invaluable book for those who want to lecture or make speeches on the subject—and there we suppose we must leave it, and pray that the dawn of a better day may come quickly.

◆

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Of Six Mediæval Women." By Alice Kemp-Welch. (London: Macmillan. Price 8s. 6d. net.)

"Windfrint Virgin." By Wilkinson Sherren. (London: Ham Smith. Price 6s.)

"At What Sacrifice." By Annie O. Tibbits. (London: Digby Long and Co. Price 6s.)

"Harry the Cockney." By Edwin Pugh. (London: T. Werner Laurie, Ltd. Price 6s.)

"Every Man's Desire." By Mary Gaunt. (London: T. Werner Laurie, Ltd. Price 6s.)

"The Violet Book." By A. and D. Allen-Brown. (London: John Lane. Price 5s. net.)

"Westminster Review." March. (London: Marlborough and Co. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"The Englishwoman." March. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price 1s. net.)

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* "Famous Speeches: Second Series." Edited by Herbert Paul. (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd. 7s. 6d. net.)

† "Child Labour in City Streets." By Edward N. Clopper. (Macmillan. 5s. 6d.)

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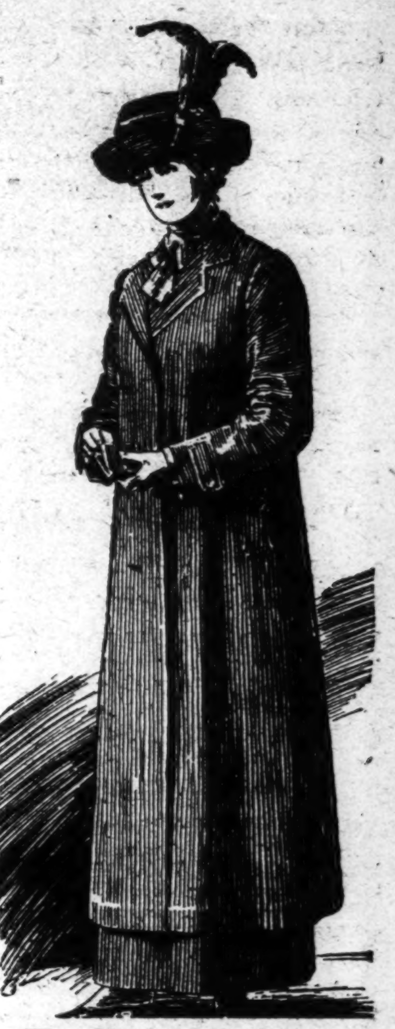

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FRIDAY, MARCH 7, 1913.

NEXT SESSION

During the last few days the newspapers have been busy forecasting the business of the Parliamentary session of 1913 which commences on Monday next. Prominent among the items figures the Woman Suffrage Bill, which is to be introduced by a private member, and to which the Prime Minister has already promised full facilities with regard to time.

The interest which this arouses presents a striking contrast to that excited by similar measures in past years. Formerly the introduction of a Woman Suffrage Bill was of importance solely to women who were interested in the cause; while they pinned their faith to the measure and pathetically hoped that their champions in the House of Commons would this time pilot it through to success, M.P.'s themselves were contemptuous, and the general public in complete ignorance of its existence. To-day, the situation is exactly reversed. The general public, the vast majority of whom believe that the time has now come for the enfranchisement of duly qualified women, are looking forward to the Bill with hope that it may end the imbroglio in which the whole suffrage question has become involved. Members of Parliament are anxiously awaiting events, some pathetically hoping that the Bill will be carried and the enfranchisement of women effected, others fearful lest the discussion will result in wrecking the Government and in bringing about a premature dissolution and General Election. It is the woman suffragists, and the woman suffragists alone, who are contemptuous of the whole proceeding.

The fact is that in days gone by women took the House of Commons seriously. They do not do so any longer. For while the ordinary private Member still imagines with childlike self-importance that he is a legislator, the women have found out that he is a mere lackey who comes at the call of the bell to do his master's bidding. By a curious irony the women who are fighting for their bare political rights have become better politicians than the average private Member of Parliament who is supposed to have been chosen from among his fellows to represent them on account of his exceptional sagacity and judgment!

To those ignorant of the peculiar "looking-glass world" which constitutes modern politics, nothing would seem simpler than the situation or more hopeful than the prospects for woman suffrage. Women demand the vote; two-thirds of the House of Commons are pledged to support that demand; Mr. Asquith has declared that the Government are neutral and that they themselves will find time for all stages which may be required of a private Member's Bill framed so as to give effect to those pledges. How is it possible, in face of these definite facts, to disbelieve in the prospects of success?

We answer that we have learnt in the hard school of experience two facts. Firstly, there can be no such thing as Government neutrality on a question in which party interests are so vitally bound up as an extensive change in the Franchise Laws. Therefore, the Government are certain so far to interfere as to insist that the Franchise Bill which receives facilities shall be favourable to their own party, and, in consequence, unacceptable to suffragist M.P.'s belonging to the Opposition. There are good grounds for believing that this interference has already taken place.

Secondly, there can be no such thing as Government neutrality on a question on which the Prime Minister has a pronounced hostile opinion, for it is certain to be believed by a large section of the party that the prestige of the Prime Minister is at stake, and with the prestige of the Prime Minister the whole fortunes of the party. Those who have personal or party axes which they expect the Liberal Government to grind are accordingly ready to make any sacrifice of pledge or principle rather than place Mr. Asquith in a position of difficulty. In this way the bulk of the Irish and Welsh votes, as well as those of many English and Scottish Liberals, all of whom are professing suffragists, will be lost to the Bill.

If these two factors alone were insufficient to secure the defeat of the measure, we have seen enough of the seamy side of politics to be in no doubt that other, more insidious methods of intrigue would be adopted to kill it.

We have, then, no faith in the procedure offered to us by Mr. Asquith. But we are not without hope. On the contrary, we are full of confidence. For it is becoming increasingly clear that just as we succeeded in destroying a Government Bill of first-rate importance last January, so we shall in a little while be strong enough to break up the Government itself unless the Government is prepared to make a death-bed repentance and decide to act with justice to women. We have no desire to encompass the political death of the Government, we would far rather that here and now it would be reasonable and would concede what we demand. But if it continues to act in defiance of our claims then we have no option but to pursue it with relentless hostility in the full knowledge that if and when we have brought about its destruction owing to its obstinate refusal to enfranchise women, no subsequent Government which may be formed will dare to stand in the way of this just and necessary and widely approved reform.

THE SPIRITUAL ASPECT OF UNREST

By Percy Dearmer, M.A., D.D.

(A sermon delivered to the Church of England Men's Society.)

It would be misleading if I were to take any text about "rest" to-day. "Come unto Me all ye that are weary, and I will give you rest." "There remaineth a rest for the people of God." "There is no rest for the wicked." Rest is so desirable a thing, so beautiful and great; we use the word for that longed-for happiness on the other side of death, "Requiem eternam dona eis." . . .

And yet there can be no doubt that Christianity is the religion of unrest—of pressing onward, and struggle, and buffet; of those who fight, not as beating the air; of those who go forth as sheep among wolves, who (as in the Acts of the Apostles) turn the world upside down; of those who are engaged in a cosmic battle for which the Apocalypse can only find the lurid colours of thunder and eclipse, of earthquake and battle, of gaunt and awful horses scurrying across the earth, of avenging angels blowing mighty trumpets and wielding fiery swords.

"Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you."

"I came not to bring peace, but a sword."

There, and in many other sayings, stands this paradox of Christianity. The two opposites—and yet they are not oppcsites, but complementary to one another. Both are true; and we must be large-minded enough to press both sides, and we cannot press either too far if we press wisely and rightly.

"Unrest," then, is a good thing, just as peace is a good thing. Nay, further, it is a particular note of Christianity, whereas peace is not. For peace is also a note of Buddhism and of Confucianism, and, strange as it may appear, of Islam also. Peace is a good thing which Christianity shares with other religions. Unrest is a good thing which it has to itself.

History, says Houston Chamberlain, in the real sense only begins with the birth of Christ. "The peoples that have not yet adopted Christianity—the Chinese, the Indians, the Turks, and others—have all so far no true history. All they have is, on the one hand, a chronicle of ruling dynasties, butcheries, and the like; on the other, the uneventful, humble existence of countless millions living a life of bestial happiness. . . . Their culture, their art, their religion may interest us—may even become valuable parts of our own life. . . . Their history, however, purely as such, lacks moral greatness; in other words, that force which rouses the individual man to consciousness of his individuality. . . . The Aryan Indian, for instance, though he unquestionably possesses the greatest talents for metaphysics of any people that ever lived, . . . does not advance beyond inner enlightenment; he does not shape; he is neither artist nor reformer; he is content to live calmly and to die redeemed; he has no history. No more has his opposite, the Chinaman, that unique representative of Positivism and Collectivism."

The Restless Christian Spirit

Why is this? Why are Christian nations so different—so restless, always enquiring, always moving, always developing?

We ask the question to-day with a deepened sense of one of those tragedies which mar the triumphs of the Christian races. We think of those heroes who lay down to die last Lady Day, in the grim horrors of the ice and snow. Why did Captain Scott and his companions not stop comfortably at home? Why did they give their lives into the blinding pathos of that tragedy?

My friends, it was because they belonged to Christendom, and they had the spirit of unrest that stirs in our blood and calls us to go out, to go up, to go forward. In Asia is fatalism, and calm, and the quiet following of one generation upon another; in Europe and America are unrest, and discontent, and stir, and stress, and movement. The tragedy of the Antarctic is a parable of the restless Christian spirit.

And why? It is not, as is sometimes thought, a matter of race. We can see that in Macedonia. The Mohammedans there of Servian, Greek, or Bulgarian blood are quite as fatalistic and immoveable as any pure Turk. It is through the unrest of the Christians that the land has been always in a state of ferment. It is not a matter of Race, but it is a matter of Religion.

What, then, is there about the Christian Religion that prevents men from settling down, that gives the Christian nations a history, so that, whereas the Arabs are the same now as they were in the sixth century, we Anglo-Saxons are profoundly different from our ancestors who came over with Hengest and Horsa, and who lived under the Heptarchy?

A Worth and Personal Dignity

It is this: Christianity makes men conscious of a worth and personal dignity otherwise undreamt of. We say glibly that Christianity is the Religion of Love; but it is the Religion of Love in a very large sense. It teaches man, on the one hand, to love his neighbour—*because his neighbour is worthy of love.* It also teaches that God loves man—teaches this in defiance of the fact that Nature only cares for the race, and recks not of what happens to the individual; it teaches that God loves each individual man, numbers the hairs of his head, wills that he should be saved, and in fact died for him. "Sic Deus dilexit mundum." From this it follows that the Christian nations are not satisfied with the simple animal happiness of living in their villages (such as was so eloquently described in "The Letters of John Chinaman"). The happiness of bees and ants has now no charm for them. Through Christianity each man has received an inestimable, hitherto unanticipated value. He is of infinite worth. God loves him, and it is his neighbour's duty to love him. Give a nation this conviction, and it walks henceforward with its head among the stars. Slavery drops away; it cannot stand before this doctrine of individual magnificence. Serfdom drops away; Solomon in all his glory is no better in the sight of the Heavenly Father than the serf. The subjection of woman drops away; for a woman has a soul (though Aristotle had not discovered this patent fact); God died for her, and blood trickled from the Cross on to three women who were braver than Cæsar and greater than Seneca.

Is it to be wondered at, then, that there is unrest among workmen to-day, or among women?

Whether we approve of the methods of any form of unrest, or of its aims, has nothing to do with its spiritual aspects, which we are considering to-day. Even the horrors and anti-Christian deeds of the French Revolution—"the red fool-fury of the Seine"—would not have been possible if France had not for centuries been Christian. The seeds of discontent are only sown in that soil.

So much for the unrest of to-day. Who would deny that there are causes for it? No one, certainly, who knows anything of the miseries under which the poor suffer. No one who realises that this misery is so widespread that, according to the latest statistics of Professor Bowley, over two millions and a half adult males are earning under 25s. a week.

Unrest Among Women

Strikes often have small success, and cost more than they bring; they are at best painful, wasteful, and regrettable things. And the same may be said about unrest among women.

But what we have here to notice is that they, or something like them, are inevitable so long as there are classes who lack important things that others have. The Christian law of the infinite value of every human being makes unrest inevitable. To destroy unrest, we must become Buddhists or Confucians.

A great economist of to-day* has said: "These demands, however indistinctly or confusedly set forth, express much more than a desire for more food or shorter hours, for better clothing or more comfortable housing. They are in the main a passionate revolt against the status of serfdom; a semi-conscious striving in personal dignity and public consideration which comes from independence; an insistent demand for participation in the rule which has to be exercised over the common work of production."

Does not that form a valuable comment on the view of Christianity which I have put before you? When the Christian spirit is alive there will be the passionate half-conscious stirring, and where the faith of Christ in the majesty of the human soul is, there will be striving and unrest, over and over again, until the Kingdom of God is fulfilled, and His will is done on earth as it is in heaven.

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* Mrs. Sidney Webb.

THE SPIRIT OF WOMEN

In spite of the double dealing of politicians and the flabbiness of professing friends in the House of Commons, there is one sign which fills us with delight. It is the splendid spirit which is showing itself more and more among women. It is no longer the spirit of those who are content with the subservient position in which their sex has been for centuries. It is the spirit of those who know that they have a right to be free, and who mean to win their freedom in the immediate future.

Against this new spirit of women nothing can stand. The wave of their determination cannot be stayed by any modern Canute bidding it make no further progress. It will come on and on, sweeping over all obstacles which attempt to bar its path.

This spirit of women shows itself in many ways. It is showing itself politically in the refusal of women politicians to give their services and their support to parties which are not willing to give them the rights of citizenship. It is showing itself socially in the refusal of women to be treated any longer as the playthings of men and in the determination to claim for themselves equality of life and opportunity. It is showing itself in business by women who realise that as dispensers of large sums of money they have a right to use their expenditure in such a way as to help forward the cause of women all over the world.

Women's Great Power

Men bring their influence to bear on politics not only through the vote but through their being in possession of the control of the means of production, and of most of the commerce of the world. Women have neither the vote nor the control of the main stream of commerce. Their work lies in the laying out of money in retail purchase. How can they focus this work on to the object they have in hand? At first sight it certainly seems to be difficult, but on examination it does not prove to be so. Whatever has to be bought can be bought equally well at a great number of different shops. Women can select that shop which supports the woman's movement; and the most convincing and practical sign of support is the advertisement by that shop appearing in the columns of Votes for Women.

Everyone who is acquainted with the working of a newspaper realises how all important to success is the possession of a large and increasing revenue from advertisements. Of course, advertisers are very practical people, and if they spend money on advertising in a paper they want to be assured that they are going to get value in return. And therefore the help of the readers of Votes for Women is of the utmost importance. We ask them whenever they are intending to make a purchase to look carefully through the list of our advertisers to find out which of them can supply it and then to make a point of visiting that shop. If they get what they want, we ask them to say what it was that induced them to make their purchase there.

The present time is a particularly valuable one for putting into operation this effective method of helping Votes for Women. The spring is close at hand, and there are many special spring things to be bought. Among the advertisers in Votes for Women are well known names which are themselves a guarantee of good workmanship. Owing to the splendid way in which our readers have supported them in times past, we have, as will be seen from the list given on page 330, a number of promises of advertisements in the coming month. We have to live up to this good reputation and even to improve upon it, so that Votes for Women may be looked upon by its advertisers as I hope it is by all its readers as a model paper!

F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

THE MILITANT AGITATION

"It is not the insurrections of ignorance that are dangerous, but the revolts of intelligence."—*James Russell Lowell.*

SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON

In Holloway Gaol

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Miss Louisa Gay	Jan. 9	8 months
Miss Margaret James	Feb. 5	6 months
Mrs. Ethel Beckett	Feb. 7	3 ”
Mrs. Maud Brindley	” ”	5 ”
Mrs. Marie Louisa Miles	” ”	3 ”
Miss Mabel Muriel Scholefield	” ”	3 ”
Mrs. Branson	Feb. 10	2 ”
*Miss Zelie Emerson	Feb. 18	2 months' hard labour
*Miss Annie Lansbury	” ”	1 month ” ”
*Mrs. Moor	” ”	1 ” ” ”
*Miss Sylvia Pankhurst	” ”	2 months' ” ”
Miss Pleasance Pendred	Feb. 22	6 ” ” ”
Miss Jane Shortt	” ”	6 ” ” ”
Anonymous	Mar. 4	2 months
Miss Ella Stevenson	Mar. 5	9 ”

In Tullamore Gaol

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Mrs. Purser	Jan. 30	1 month hard labour (1 additional month in default of bail)

In Brixton Gaol

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
*Mr. William Lansbury	Feb. 18	2 months' hard labour

* Hard labour afterwards remitted.

DIARY OF EVENTS

Thursday, Feb. 27.—Late on Wednesday night a supposed attempt was made to damage the All England Tennis Grounds at Wimbledon. A woman, who refused to give any information about herself, was arrested.

The attempted firing of the Roehampton Croquet Pavilion by two women and a man was also reported in Thursday morning's papers.

Mrs. Pankhurst released on bail.

Friday, Feb. 28.—Two windows at the Newcastle Labour Exchange broken, one by a stone bearing the words, "Votes for Women," and the other by an iron bolt which was labelled "Equal wages for equal work."

Pillar-boxes attacked at Lee and at Dover, in the latter case a large number of letters being damaged by a thick black substance.

Golf links at Dover had the turf on some of the greens torn up and "Votes for Women" chalked on the grass.

Orchid houses belonging to a private owner severely damaged at Harrow. (The police inclined to think it was the work of Suffragists.)

Mobilisation order sent to Pontypool for calling out the Reservists, Special Reserves, and Territorials. The order was immediately posted outside the Police Station and notice served to a number of Reserves; the mistake was not discovered for several hours. (The hoax is attributed to Suffragists, although this is denied by the police.)

Saturday, March 1.—Letters at Cardiff damaged; uncorked ink-bottles put into the pillar-boxes.

Letter-box at Porthcawl, attempt to fire.

Monday, March 3.—Sixty telephone wires connecting Manchester and the North of England cut near Oldham.

Letters destroyed by fire in a pillar-box at Bedford.

Tuesday, March 4.—Five pillar-boxes at Manchester attacked; uncorked bottles of a thick, black fluid placed in each, and about 150 letters and packages disfigured.

◆

MRS. PANKHURST RELEASED ON BAIL

When we went to Press last week Mrs. Pankhurst had been remanded in custody on her refusal to give an undertaking not to incite to violence for so long a period as would be involved if, as was stated in Epsom Police Court, her trial would not take place until the Guildford Assizes next May or June. Mrs. Pankhurst was removed to Holloway Gaol, and at once started the hunger strike.

On Thursday in last week, the day after the police court proceedings, the authorities decided to transfer the trial, as had been suggested in court the day before, to the Central Criminal Court on April 1. In view of the shortened period of remand, Mrs. Pankhurst consented to give the following undertaking:—That she will not directly or indirectly incite to any breach of the criminal law, or herself commit any breach of such law, until the trial takes place at the Central Criminal Court on April 1, 1913.

Mrs. Pankhurst was then admitted to bail in her own recognisances in £300, with two sureties in £250 each, and was released from Holloway Gaol. She was considerably weakened by her twenty-four hours' fast, and it was stated that her ill-health was accentuated by her anxiety about Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, who is being forcibly fed in Holloway Gaol.

Mr. W. Digby Thurnam writes to the *Times* on March 5 to ask how Mrs. Pankhurst's case can be tried at the Central Criminal Court on April 1. The grand jury there, he says—

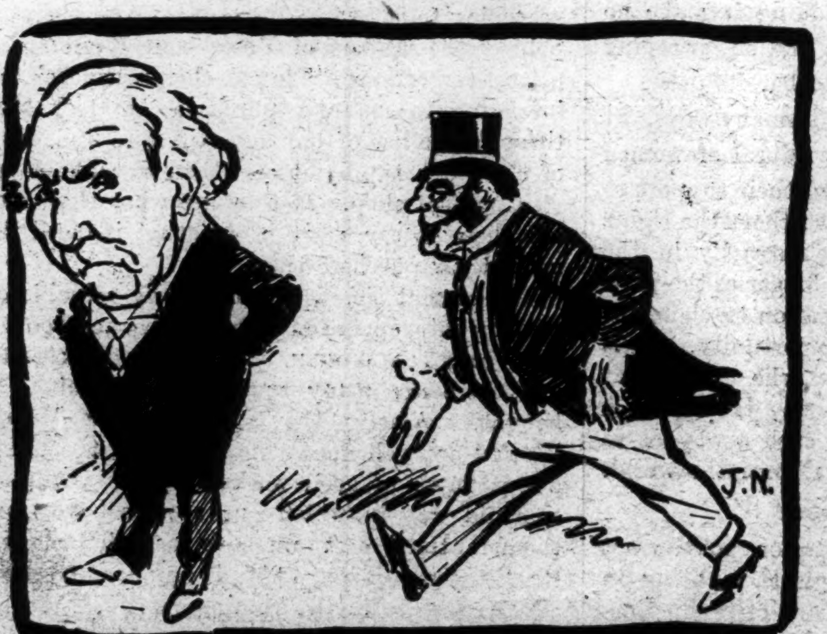
> has no jurisdiction to inquire into alleged offences in Surrey, except such part of the county as is included in the Central Criminal Court district. The indictment against Mrs. Pankhurst must be found by the grand jury of Surrey, and this cannot be done till the summer Assizes, the earliest commission day for which is June 27. An order to change the venue under the Act of 1856 can only be made when it appears to be expedient to the ends of justice. There is no suggestion here that a fair and impartial trial cannot be had at Guildford. The only effect of removing the indictment (if it can be done) would be to delay the time to the July Sessions at the Old Bailey. If this is to be the result, what is the use of Mrs. Pankhurst's undertaking, which expires on April 1?

Is Our Criminal Law a Failure?

This is the question asked by the *Times* in its leading article of March 5. Discussing the point, it goes on to say:—

"One of the chief ends of law is to discourage the violence of crowds permeated by a sense that the authorities are not doing all that they might; and there are too many signs, especially in the behaviour of angry crowds, that this end is not accomplished. It matters not whether Mrs. Pankhurst is guilty or innocent; it is obviously important that her case should be promptly determined. It appears that she cannot be tried in the March sittings of the Central Criminal Court; and, according to a correspondent whose letter we publish to-day, it may be only by stretching the law somewhat that she can be tried there at the April sittings. . . . We have long been familiar with the militant suffragist and her stratagem of the hunger strike. It is still somewhat uncertain what the Home Secretary means to do in cases in which a prisoner is prepared to fast so many hours as to endanger life. The prevalent belief is that she will be released if the hunger strike is protracted. If this is Mr. McKenna's policy, the sooner we know it the better. The sentence of the future will be that the prisoner fast so many days."

HAPPY THOUGHT!



Eager Friend: "Pardon my haste, Mr. Asquith, but I have an inspiration. Why not **Give 'em the Vote?**"

The Other: "And get a bad habit of keeping our pledges! Never!"

(With acknowledgments to "The Daily Herald," in which this Cartoon appeared on March 3.)

◆

YOUTHFUL HOOLIGANISM

During the week-end Suffragists have been subjected to a good deal of rowdyism from boys and young hooligan members of crowds. On Sunday, March 2, attacks were made on Mrs. Drummond and other speakers in Hyde Park and on other Suffragists at a meeting on Wimbledon Common. A crowd of about 8,000 people surrounded Mrs. Drummond and her companions; there was much hooting and noise, and pieces of turf were thrown at the speakers. Similar scenes also took place on Wimbledon Common. Twice women with piano organs, which they were playing in connection with the W.S.P.U. self-denial week, have been molested in the streets. At the W.S.P.U. meeting at the London Pavilion on Monday afternoon (March 3) it was decided, by request of the theatre management, not to admit men. In consequence a large crowd of young students blocked all the entrances at the time the meeting was to commence. The men refused to let the women in while they were excluded, and it was some time before the police succeeded in clearing the entrance for the incoming audience. In spite of the crowd, which seriously blocked the traffic outside, Mrs. Pankhurst spoke to a full audience in the theatre without interruptions.

Two young men were arrested for attacks on Suffragists. (See next page.)

◆

RAID ON A W.S.P.U. TEA SHOP

The *Times* of last Tuesday gives the following account of the raid by medical students on the Westminster tea shop in Tothill Street, which took place on Monday afternoon:—

"Forty or fifty students yesterday raided the Westminster Tea Shop, a small café carried on by the Women's Social and Political Union in Tothill Street. There were only two young women in charge of the tea shop, and they informed the students that they must calm themselves, otherwise they could not have tea. Tea was served, and at the same time the police were summoned by telephone. Before the students left one of the young women addressed them in support of woman suffrage."

◆

HYSTERIA IN THE PRESS

The most extraordinary rumours of possible militant action float through a certain portion of the Press. The *Weekly Dispatch* of last Sunday came out with a full and circumstantial account of a plot that didn't come off last summer—to kidnap Mr. Lloyd George. The *Standard* of last Wednesday makes dire and dark allusions to flashlight demonstrations in the House (whatever these may be), destruction of priceless manuscripts and art treasures in the museums, and, of course, the kidnapping of Cabinet Ministers. Really, the belief of the *Standard* in the physical force and constructive genius of woman must be boundless. We congratulate our contemporary on its appreciation of feminine ability.

◆

COERCION—NOT VOTES!

A Bill to Deal with Militancy

According to the *Times'* Parliamentary Correspondent, "The Home Secretary is considering the advisability of introducing a Bill to deal with suffragist law-breakers. Such a measure, for which there would doubtless be a good deal of public support, would probably provide, in the first place, that these offenders should be financially responsible for the damage they do to property. In the second place, it may be proposed to give the authorities power to release hunger-striking prisoners on licence, as is done in the case of prisoners who are released from penal servitude under ticket-of-leave. Conditions would, of course, be attached to the licence."

The *Daily Telegraph's* Parliamentary Correspondent describes the threatened measure as one "to widen the discretion and the power of the authorities as to enable them more effectively to discharge their responsibilities."

◆

HARD LABOUR REMITTED

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst Forcibly Fed

Great indignation has been aroused by the hard labour sentences passed on Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Miss Annie Lansbury, Mr. William Lansbury, and three other Suffragists arrested on February 17 after a Suffrage protest at Bow. The hard labour has now been remitted by the Home Secretary. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst has been on hunger strike ever since she was imprisoned in Holloway on February 18; she is being forcibly fed, and no news of her condition can be obtained by her friends. Mrs. Watson, who also hunger struck, was released on Thursday, February 27.

On Saturday some 200 men and women marched a distance of twelve miles from Bow Road to Holloway for the purpose of giving cheers outside the prison for Miss Pankhurst and Miss Lansbury.

◆

WHY SUFFRAGISTS ARE MILITANT

C. J. F. writes from Glasgow:—"While the newspapers are discussing what to do to the brave militants, the enclosed appears in an obscure corner of the *Glasgow Evening News* (February 24):—

"'A commercial traveller, Lawrence Earl, residing at 26, Granville Street, pleaded guilty at the Western Police Court this morning to a charge of having wilfully behaved in an indecent manner to two girls in the Kelvingrove Art Galleries yesterday afternoon. Bailie Stark Brown imposed the full penalty of £5, or thirty days.'"

◆

A PARALLEL

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I do not know if the following quotations will have any interest for your readers. The first is from an old pamphlet, and describes the treatment of a band of "separatists" in the reign of James I., who desired religious freedom; the others are quotations from newspapers of to-day, and describe the treatment of women who desire political freedom:—

REIGN OF JAMES I. (17TH CENTURY).

"At length they catcht one of them alone, but they kickt him so vehemently as if they meant to beat him into a jelly. It is ambiguous whether they have kil'd him or no, but for a certainty they did knock him about as if they mean to pull him to pieces."

REIGN OF GEORGE V. (20TH CENTURY).

(1) "Their clothes were torn from their backs, their hair was pulled out in bunches, and they were beaten about the head. One of them was flung clean over a hedge. . . . Some of them fell to the ground and were trodden on."—*Observer*, September 22, 1912.

(2) "A party of local suffragists who were acting as sandwichmen were mobbed in Cheapside, Preston, on Saturday evening. Eggs, orange-peel, and refuse were thrown at the processionists, who broke up in disorder. Two took refuge in a shop until the hostile crowd dispersed."—*Standard*, February 24, 1913.

We do not seem to have progressed far since the seventeenth century.—Yours, &c.,

E. M. RICHARDSON.

Wysswood, Kenley, Surrey.

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, Feb. 27.—At the Richmond Police Court, before the Mayor of Richmond, charged with burning the Tea Pavilion, Kew Gardens,

Miss Joyce Locke; committed for trial at the Central Criminal Court, Old Bailey, on March 7. £1,000 bail was allowed.

Miss Lilian Lenton was too ill to appear.

At the Wimbledon Police Court, charged with the intention of damaging the All-England Tennis Grounds,

A woman, who refused to give information about herself; remanded in custody.

Saturday, March 1.—At the Court of Criminal Appeal, before Mr. Justice Phillimore, Mr. Justice Pickford, and Mr. Justice Coleridge,

Miss Ethel Beckett, sentenced at the London Sessions to three months' imprisonment for breaking a window, valued at over £5, appealed that the property damaged did not exceed £5. Appeal dismissed.

At the Marlborough Street Police Court, before Mr. Mead, charged with causing obstruction,

Mrs. Annie Warren, bound over in £5;

Miss Mary Dawes Thompson, fined 30s. or 15 days' imprisonment.

Tuesday, March 4.—At Wimbledon Police Court, before Sir Arthur Holland and Mr. Percy Mortimer, charged with intention to damage the All-England Tennis Courts,

A woman, who refused to give information about herself; sentenced to two months in the second division.

Wednesday, March 5.—At the Central Criminal Court, before the Recorder, charged with damaging the mails,

Miss Ella Stevenson, sentenced to nine months' imprisonment in the second division.

Mr. Hugh Franklin's trial takes place at the Middlesex Quarter Sessions, Caxton Hall, on Saturday next (March 8), at 10 a.m.

THE KEW FIRE CHARGE

Miss Joyce Locke was brought up at the Richmond Police Court on Thursday of last week, and committed for trial at the Old Bailey on March 7. The defendant was charged with setting fire to the tea pavilion, Kew Gardens, and had been remanded from February 20. Since then she had been on hunger strike in Holloway Prison, and she therefore asked for an adjournment. Mr. Travers Humphreys, for the prosecution, having told the Court that Miss Lilian Lenton, who should have appeared with Miss Locke, had been released on the previous Sunday afternoon by order of the Home Secretary (see page 321), said the case came under the Malicious Damage to Property Act, and asked the Bench to commit the defendant for trial. After Miss Locke had told the Bench her real name, she was allowed bail.

SILENT SUFFRAGIST

On Tuesday, March 4, a Suffragist, who refused to give any information about herself was brought up before the Wimbledon magistrates on remand, charged with being found under suspicious circumstances on private ground, for the supposed purpose of committing a felony. The defendant was discovered late on Wednesday night of last week on the centre court of the All-England Tennis Ground at Wimbledon by one of the groundmen. She tried to escape, but fell, and was taken into custody. The grounds were searched, and bags were found containing inflammable materials. The woman had refused to give any information at all, and was remanded from the preceding Thursday. Throughout Tuesday's proceedings the defendant maintained silence, merely answering that she had nothing to say and no witnesses to call. She was sentenced to two months' imprisonment in the second division.

THE REAL "SPOILT DARLINGS OF THE LAW"

We hear so much about women being the spoilt darlings of the law that we wonder what description would fit the two "well-dressed young men" who were brought up at Marlborough Police Court last Tuesday in connection with the disturbances outside the Pavilion Theatre on Monday. Edward Hardiman, charged with snatching a paper away from a Suffragist paperseller and using offensive language, was bound over in the sum of £5!

Twenty Shillings for Striking a Woman

Leslie Becker, charged with striking a Suffragist over the head with his umbrella and using bad language, was fined 20s., or in default seven days. We should like to know if the *Daily News*, which in Tuesday's leading article hopes "that the magistrates will deal with this brutality with the utmost severity," feels that its hopes are fulfilled?

MISS STEVENSON AT THE OLD BAILEY

Women Again Excluded from Court

Miss Ella Stevenson surrendered to her bail at the Old Bailey last Wednesday, charged with placing in Richmond Post Office letter-box a packet containing inflammable fluid. She pleaded not guilty. By the Recorder's order no women were admitted to the Court, and the defendant's request for the admission of at least a woman journalist, who earned her living by reporting, and wished to report the case, was refused, the Recorder making the remarkable statement, "Some people think that these cases are far too much reported." Miss Stevenson therefore met her trial without the support of a single member of her own sex, not even her sister being allowed to be present.

Mr. Forster Boulton, who prosecuted for the Crown, said that the defendant was well known as a street seller of Suffragist literature. A post office clearer saw her post a large envelope on February 22; when the box was cleared there were six envelopes in it, and on the top was one without an address, containing two glass tubes, one of which was broken.

A clearer at the General Post Office gave evidence to this effect, and after further evidence for the prosecution had been called, Miss Stevenson was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment in the second division.

◆

RELEASED IRISH SUFFRAGISTS

"If They Do Not Grant Votes to Women!"

Mrs. Cousins and Mrs. Connery, the Dublin Suffragists who were imprisoned for a month in Tullamore Gaol on a charge of window-breaking in Dublin Castle Yard, were released on Thursday morning in last week. We are glad to hear that, owing to the political treatment which was accorded them for the last fortnight of their imprisonment, they have recovered to a great extent from the effects of the hunger strike by which they won their political rights. They were met on the morning of their release by numbers of friends, including Mrs. Hoskins, who had been released a fortnight earlier owing to the hunger strike, and Mr. and Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington. They drove off in motor-cars, Mrs. Connery waving the umbrella, says the *Sunday Independent*, with which she broke the Castle windows. In reply to an interviewer who asked for her opinion on Mrs. Pankhurst's arrest, Mrs. Connery is reported to have said: "We will all be charged with serious offences if they do not grant votes to women."

READERS!

YOU CAN HELP

our paper,

"VOTES FOR WOMEN,"

by giving all your custom to those

FIRMS WHO ADVERTISE

in our columns.

Tell them why you do it.

MISS ALLAN'S SUPER-TAX

In the Court of Session, Edinburgh, last Saturday, Lord Cullen heard arguments in the action brought on behalf of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue against Janie Allan, of Greystone, Prestwick, Ayrshire, for payment of £109 supertax. The defender maintained that on a sound construction of the Finance Act, 1911, she was not liable.

Mr. J. A. T. Robertson, for the pursuers, said that there were two defences stated. The first was that the words "individual" or "person" had been interpreted as referring to a male person. The Finance Act, 1911, incorporated the provisions of previous Iicome Tax Acts and the sections relating to supertax. Among these was Section 192 of the Act of 1842, which had reference to the matter as follows: "Wherever in this Act, with reference to any person, matter, or thing, any word or words is or are used importing the singular number or the masculine gender only, yet such word or words shall be understood to include several persons as well as one person and females as well as males." The other defence was that, as the Finance Act, 1911, was passed by a Parliament in the election of which women had no votes, the Act was not binding on the defender. If that defence were open to the defender it would have been open in all the years with reference to every Act of every Parliament which had ever been in this country.

Miss Allan's Defence

Miss Allan made an able speech in her own defence, basing this on the following grounds:—

In the Statute 25 Ed. I. it was enacted (1) that no taxes be imposed without the assent of the representatives of those taxed; (2) no public official shall take any goods for the King from any person without the assent of the party to whom the goods belong; (3) any that do or procure to be done anything contrary, force, and effect of this present charter in any point or article are to be excommunicated. Further, in the "Act to Confirm Rights," Statute 21, Richard II., c. 6, it was proved that women as well as men had the right to go to Parliament and the councils of the King or send their representatives there. The Reform Act, 1832, contended Miss Allan, attempts to limit the right to males, but Lord Brougham's Act, 1850, shows that the masculine includes the feminine except where otherwise expressly stated. The Interpretation Act confirmed Lord Brougham's in every Act since 1850. The second Reform Act, 1867, uses the word "men," and does not "otherwise expressly exclude women."

In respect of these Acts, the defendant pointed out, women are refused the right to choose their Parliamentary representatives.

A Fine Plea for Justice

"I hold, my Lord," said Miss Allan, "that the arbitrary interpretation of words and their scope, and the consequent withdrawal of, and encroachment on, the rights and privileges of women, is contrary to the spirit of the British Constitution. Government rests upon the consent of the governed, and that consent I consider women are justified in refusing until they are enfranchised. I object to pay this tax, my Lord, because I hold that taxation without representation is tyranny, and so long as women are denied any voice in the expenditure of the money derived from taxation, so long are they perfectly justified in refusing to pay taxes. Just as John Hampden refused to pay the taxes imposed by an irresponsible Sovereign, so I, while representation is denied to women, must evade and resist the payment of taxes; for the authority by which these are imposed is to me as irresponsible and tyrannical as that resisted by Hampden. Every year brings some fresh injustice. We have had lately the added grievance that women are forced to contribute to the payment of Members of Parliament, while at the same time they have no voice in the election of those Members, and no means of calling them to account for actions of which they may disapprove. This new act of injustice, and the women's clauses in the National Insurance Act, have kindled a spirit of rebellion even amongst the most patient and law-abiding women.

A Duty to Protest

"I maintain that, if I am not a person for the purposes of the Franchise Acts, I ought not to be considered a person within the meaning of the Finance Acts. I hold, my Lord, that the legal position of a woman at the present time is thoroughly illogical and unjust, and I think it is the duty of every woman to protest against a continuance of this injustice. Until the law decrees that a woman is always and unchangingly a person, I consider it my duty to refuse to be subject to the penalties attached to being a person, as I am, at present under the Franchise Acts, refused the privileges attached to being one. In Lord Brougham's Act of 1850, which I have already quoted, it is enacted 'that the masculine includes the feminine except where it is otherwise expressly stated or there be something in the subject, or context, repugnant to such construction.' I hold, my Lord, that there 'is something in the subject' repugnant to the subject in the statute founded on in this case, and applied to women, as it is surely completely against a fundamental principle of the British Constitution that subjects should be taxed without their consent or the consent of representatives elected by them—such is my position in this case."

Lord Cullen reserved judgment.

Judgment Given

In the Court of Session, Edinburgh, last Tuesday, Lord Cullen issued his judgment in the action by the Lord Advocate on behalf of the Inland Revenue against Miss Janie Allan.

His Lordship granted a decree for the sum sued for in the following note:—The defender, Miss Allan, was, under the statutes relating to income-tax, assessed for supertax for the year ended April, 1912, the sum payable under the assessment being £109 1s. The assessment was in conformity with a return of her income made by the defender for the year in question. The first plea in defence is to the effect that the defender is not due the tax, and the ground stated for it is that as under the law relating to the Parliamentary franchise women are not persons entitled to vote they are not persons subjected to payment of income-tax within the meaning of the taxing statutes. This plea is, in my opinion, untenable, it being clear on a construction of these statutes that women are not excluded from their scope. The second plea in defence is to the effect that because the statutes subject women to liabilities for income-tax they are "unjust and oppressive" in respect that women are not admitted to exercise the Parliamentary franchise. This, however, can form no answer in a Court of law to an action brought to enforce the statutes according to their terms.

THE PRESS VIEW OF MILITANCY

"IMAGINARY HUSBANDS"

The militants, in short, are not badgering their own imaginary husbands, they are harassing the public. And the public appears to be getting into a mood which may lead to over-zealous State action or private reprisals. Both are to be deprecated, though we are bound to say that mob law is called into being by the ordinary law proving inefficient or uncertain. So far as the suffrage question is concerned, its prospects are being ruined by those who claim to be promoting it. It might be suggested that Mr. McKenna, as an opponent, is willing to allow the militants extended opportunities for bringing their cause into disrepute. This is too far-fetched; Mr. McKenna is not so subtle. The simple and evident explanation of his conduct is that he is unfit for his post.—**The Outlook.**

"THE LATENT BEAST"

The appeal to force on the part of a certain section of the women inevitably awakens the lowest instincts of a certain type of man, especially the young student type. The latent beast is always ready to leap to life at the least excuse, and the resort of women to violence offers the excuse in its most attractive form. A physical conflict with women appeals to the brute in man with a doubly sinister effect, and when women themselves invite the conflict he has at least the pretence of merely resorting to retaliation. We hope that the magistrates will deal with this brutality with the utmost severity. Whatever methods we adopt to suppress militancy we are not going to call in the medical students to help us, and the public will not allow them to play the hooligan upon the thin pretence of indignation against militancy.—**Daily News.**

SO SAY WE ALL!

The women are some of them wicked enough, others silly enough; but the chief responsibility for this intolerable state of affairs rests with the Government. A policy of weakness, evasion, and trickery, of threat and cajolement, violence and complacence has produced its result. Some Ministers are convinced opponents of woman's suffrage; others its apparent champions. But this divergence of conviction in no way excuses the Government's follies. Where all concerned have consistently said and done the wrong thing, Mr. McKenna and Mr. Hobhouse have distinguished themselves. Mr. McKenna, unable to vindicate the civic order of which he is the official custodian, has turned towards the viragoes the elastic front which various "Labour" agitators of the baser sort have successfully exploited. Mr. Hobhouse, by perhaps the most idiotic speech ever made by a member of a Government, has given to the conspirators a weapon invaluable to their success in moulding the weaker instruments by whom their bidding is done. Beyond these crude and obvious defaults, the way in which woman's suffrage has been handled in the House of Commons, culminating in the last evasion behind the Speaker's ruling, has done all that was possible to aggravate a great social evil. To Ministers the source of the present dilemma must be traced. To them, without any confidence, the State must look for rescue.—**Saturday Review.**

THE SINGLE IDEA

One of the saddest results of the protracted Suffrage war is that gifted and brilliant women, who were once the life of social circles, charming talkers and sympathetic listeners, have now become so concentrated on a single idea that they are useless for the general purposes of daily life. They enter a drawing-room as a champion entered the lists, fully armed and eager to encounter an antagonist. While the conversation is occupied with the Suffrage, they are alert, vigilant, and attentive, but as soon as a different topic is introduced, the light dies out of their eyes and their expression changes to one of half-concealed impatience or moody abstraction. Their souls are caged within the yard and a half limit. The breakers of windows and burners of tea-houses have no thought, for example, of the inconvenience caused to the thousands of tourists from all parts of the world who are spending perhaps the only holiday of their lives in London, and who may be shut out by these acts of violence from famous palaces and picture-galleries. As I was reading the *Westminster* at a Selfridge's tea-table on Thursday, a pleasant-looking lady from California began to talk about the outrages, and said, "I'm afraid this will spoil my sight-seeing!"—**British Weekly.**

WHAT ABOUT THE WORD "TRUTH"?

If the desire for a vote is to palliate attempts to burn in their beds the children of one Cabinet Minister, and to blow up the servants of another, the word law has ceased to have any meaning. There is only one possible course open to the Government. Let them prosecute for criminal conspiracy the instigators of these outrages, and send the incendiaries to Broadmoor.—**London Mail.**

AT LAST!

Now that the putting-greens of our leading golf links have been attacked by corrosive acids there is no question but what mankind must give serious attention to the women's demands. — **East Anglian Daily Times.**

"SENSIBLE!"

A sensible Government, unfettered by any past records, could probably put a stop to suffragist outrages in a week. But it would not be by imprisoning women; still less would it be by treating the whole matter with the inane flippancy displayed by some Radical politicians. —**Nottingham Guardian.**

QUITE SO!

The scenes which took place on Sunday in Hyde Park and yesterday in Piccadilly Circus show that the agitation is approaching the point of serious trouble. The time has come, therefore, when some of the problems which it presents must be solved. **Daily Telegraph.**

WHY DRAG IN HISTORY?

The methods now in vogue are not those of the fanatic, but of the criminal. And crime. to advance a movement however good and great, is reprobated alike by history, the moral law, and saving common sense.—**Christian Globe.**

WOULD AN INSANE MAJORITY MAKE IT EASY?

The resources of civilisation, at any rate, are not quite exhausted. Mr. Massingham suggests heavy fines, rigorously enforced, against those who can pay them. That policy would at least help to scotch a conspiracy of the rich which many people regard as, after all, but a form of Tory spite against the Government. Of course, the true remedy is to grant the Suffrage; but the insanity of the few is making that more and more difficult.—**Primitive Methodist Leader.**

QUITE USELESS

It is useless to imprison people who glory in imprisonment. It is useless to fine people who will not pay the fine, and who probably have no goods on which the amount can be levied. Public opinion would not permit suffragists to be "done to death" in prison by forcible feeding or any other means, and what can the bewildered Government do? It is easy to abuse Mr. McKenna. We have no admiration for that gentleman, but the abuse to which he has been subjected over this question is unjust. He is simply bewildered, and likely to remain so. The suffragists are in much the same position as the people who years ago refused to pay Church rates. It was impossible to make them pay, and the responsible authorities found this out in time. It was found impossible also to stamp out the old Chartist agitation by fine and imprisonment. Such things are not cured in this way, and much as we hope that the suffragist agitation will be stopped, we are not hopeful that the present Government will be able to stop it.—**Nottingham Guardian.**

A BUSINESS MAN'S OPINION

With regard to militant methods, I regard them as the mere froth of the movement; they should not effect the justice of it, and they do not. It is a pity that they should be necessary, but they have always been employed when reform was needed in this country. Very often they have been employed with far greater violence and danger to the public. Why, the granting of Home Rule itself will certainly be due to the effect—and possibly to the fear—of Irish militant methods.—**Mr. John Lawrie (general manager of Whiteley's) in the "London Budget."**

THE LIGHTER SIDE

TAKING IT SMILING

A respectable shop in Southampton Street, Strand, which sells books of plays, has just had its window broken for the customary reason. Over the hole in the centre of the pane from which the cracks radiate there is pasted on the inside of the glass the cover of a book of a play, "Women's Vote," with the announcement, "Amateur fee for each representation, a guinea and a half."—**Manchester Guardian (London Correspondent).**

GROWING PANES

The small daughter of an absent-minded suffragette, the other day, complained of "growing pains." "*What* sort of panes?" asked her obsessed parent, and immediately produced her hammer.—**Globe.**

LINKS WITH ENGLAND

Portugal means to have her Suffragettes. "An 18-hole golf course has been laid out at Belem, on the Tagus, near Lisbon."—**Globe, Feb. 28.**

WAR NEWS

A Frenchwoman, declaring her views on the Suffragist movement in England, and the impossibility of such a campaign being carried on in France, remarked slyly: "Each morning I look to see what Mme. Pankhurst or her satellites have done, just after I have seen whether war has broken out—nearer home than the Balkans."—**Evening Standard.**

The suffragists are being blamed for so many of our worries just now that it is not in the least surprising to learn, as I did to-night from one who professes inside knowledge, that they are credited with instigating "the mysterious airship" scare which has been perturbing many people in all parts of the country.—**Glasgow Herald (London Correspondent).**

THE SUFFRAGETTE EYE

Cabinet Ministers have reason to tremble at the wrath to come; also shopkeepers who have plate-glass windows; also people who write important letters and drop them in pillar-boxes. But there may be other forms of torture. There is an ominous kind of "wait and see" look in the eyes of Suffragettes.—**Sporting Times**

SUFFRAGIST NURSERY RHYMES

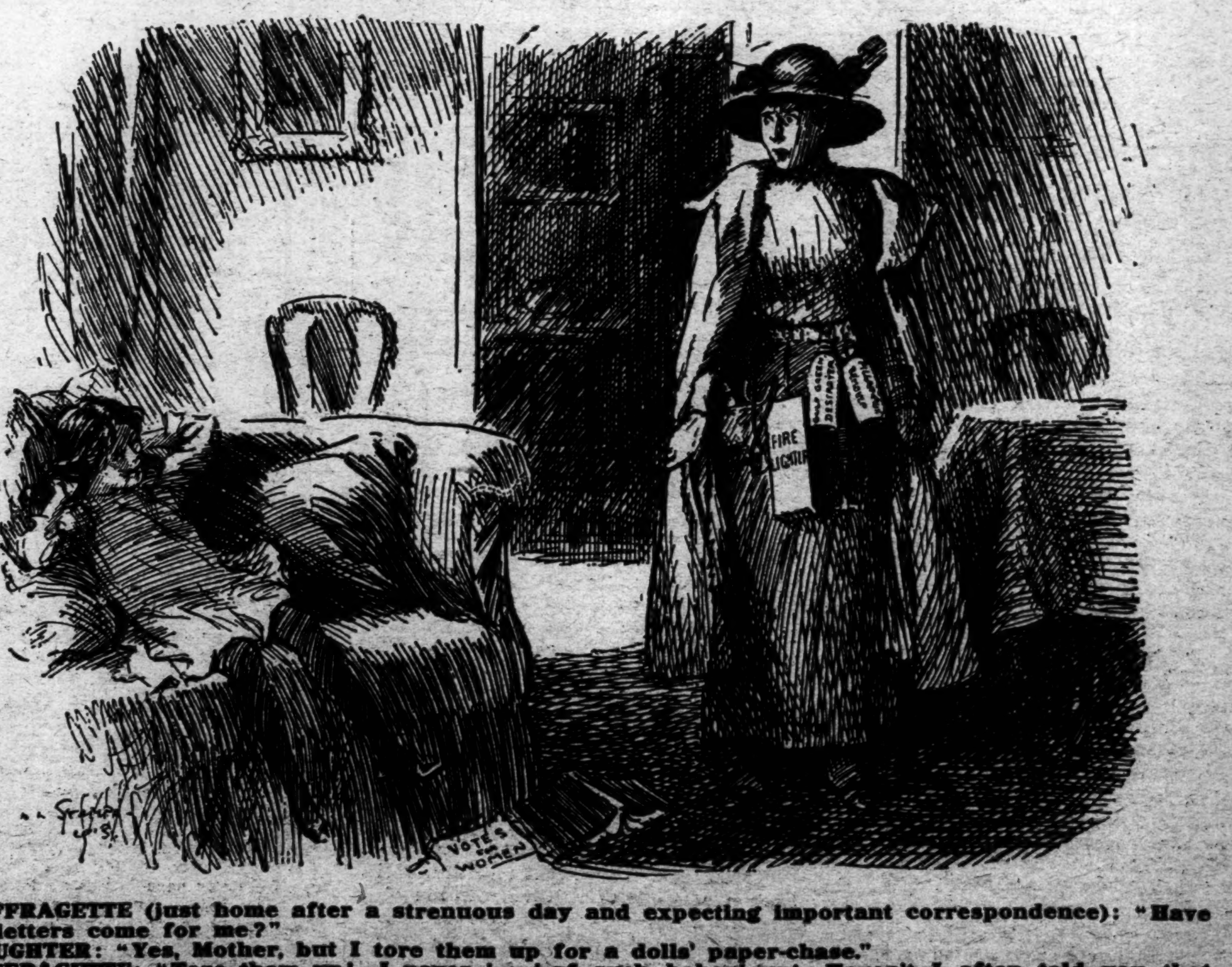
New York Suffragists have recently issued a book of nursery rhymes. We do not know if the intention is to bring up the baby in the way it should go; we do know that the grown-up person would not be the loser by reading the following militant parody of a well-known rhyme:

There was a little girl, and she had a little curl
Right in the middle of her forehead.
When she got the vote she was very good indeed,
But when they kept it from her she was horrid.

And this:—

The Queen of Hearts
Has made some darts,
And shoots them straight each day,
The Knave of Hearts
Has felt her darts,
And fast is giving way.

THE CHILD IS DAUGHTER OF THE WOMAN



SUFFRAGETTE (just home after a strenuous day and expecting important correspondence): "Have any letters come for me?"
DAUGHTER: "Yes, Mother, but I tore them up for a dolls' paper-chase."
SUFFRAGETTE: "Tore them up! I never *heard* of such behaviour! Haven't I often told you that letters are sacred things?"

[*Reproduced by the special permission of the proprietors of "Punch."*

CORRESPONDENCE

MILITANCY FOR NON-MILITANTS

BOYCOTT TAXED GOODS!

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—One of the methods that has been adopted to protest against the exclusion of women from the exercise of the Parliamentary franchise has been the refusal of many of them to pay income-tax, with the result that a portion of their goods has been invariably seized and sold by auction to realise the amount of the tax levied. While this is one form of protest it seems to me that it is a method of procedure which defeats its own ends. If it is unreasonable on account of the law being "man made" to refuse to pay the tax, is it not also unreasonable to succumb to "man-made" law and allow one's goods to be sold by auction, and eventually pay the tax indirectly? Other objections to this form of protest are: Firstly, that it can be exercised by a comparatively very small number of women; and secondly, that it only *defers* time of payment.

An Effective Protest

A far more effective method of procedure appears to me to be one under which the amount of taxation paid by supporters of the woman's movement could be very considerably reduced. Why not refuse to consume all or as much as possible of any article upon which the Government levy a duty? Tea, coffee, chicory, sugar, dried fruits, &c., are all taxed, and if large numbers of people refused to consume these articles it would have a very considerable effect upon the revenue. About one-half of the revenue of the country is raised by indirect taxation, the bulk of it being paid by the working classes, more than one-half of which consists of women. Why not institute a boycott of all these articles, and by this means refuse to support the Government? This method of protest has a great advantage over the other; if you refuse to consume you do not pay, and the revenue is permanently lost to the country. A household which supported this scheme, and whose present consumption often, say, was one pound per week, would not, on resuming the consumption, use two pounds to make up for lost time.

Break the Savings Bank!

Then why not turn our attention to the Post Office Savings Bank? A large portion of the money deposited there belongs to women, and if large numbers of them were to withdraw it it would to a certain extent be very harassing to the Government. With the influence of your widely read paper behind these ideas, I feel sure that a few months' advocacy of them could not but result in a large decrease of the revenue. The Government would inevitably be compelled to consider the boycott, and how it should deal with it. The only effective way would be to remove the cause of the boycott, and this can only be done in one way, viz., the recognition of women as citizens and granting their full rights of citizenship.—Yours, &c.,

H. Norton.

DEAL WITH SUFFRAGISTS

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—May I be allowed to make the suggestion that in order to impress on the public our determination to win the vote, all members of every suffrage society pledge themselves to deal only with those firms and tradesmen who are in favour of Votes for Women? A list could easily be made of such in each district and town, and I believe, if carried out, this policy would have more effect amongst that class than breaking their windows.—Yours faithfully,

(Mrs.) N. Gross.

111, Courtney Gardens,
Wimbledon Park, S.W.

[We recommend on page 325 to our readers a variant of this policy, viz., that they should deal as far as possible only with the firms who advertise in this paper.—Ed., Votes for Women.]

BOYCOTT THE PAPERS

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—I have seen in your last issue the letter of C. E. R., Ireland, and I fully endorse all she says. I would suggest that all papers that misrepresent and distort Suffrage news be boycotted; the withdrawal of all subscriptions to charities and hospitals for men; and, above all, the boycott of all churches whose clergymen do not favour the women's cause. If the latter were done, many churches would have to close their doors. Also to boycott all jewellers and such firms as do not advertise in some Suffrage paper.—Yours, &c.,

One Who will not go to Church
Till the Cause is Won.

Boscombe, March 3.

NO PRESENTS OR LUXURIES

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—There are thousands of women who, while believing they should have a vote, are powerless to assist the cause by any of the present methods. They may be unable or unwilling to join the militant movement, or to commit acts of violence; again, like myself, they may be unable to become tax-resisters, for all my taxes are deducted at the fountain-head. But there are many other ways of reminding the male citizen that we are in existence, and I venture to offer a few suggestions which, if adopted, would enable a large number of women to do their share towards helping the cause who at present are merely sympathisers. I suggest that:—

They should retire from all parish work where the vicar is an anti-Suffragist.

Withdraw from all charity functions, and refuse subscriptions and donations to same.

Refuse to give or accept any presents till the vote is granted.

Abstain from purchasing any luxuries in food, flowers, &c.

Curtail dress expenditure to smallest amount possible, and return all sale circulars, stating reason for so doing. Women being the mainstay of the drapers' shops, could make their power felt to a tremendous extent in this way.

Abstain from wines, spirits, champagne, and cigarettes; this will affect the revenue.

Let a few thousand self-supporting women (out of five millions) lay down their work, and go home to be supported by their anti-Suffragist fathers, mothers, or brothers.

If a League of this sort for passive militancy could be organised, I feel sure it would be a material help to the cause. It will affect men more if they have to maintain their womenkind, who hitherto have maintained themselves, than to have a window broken which is fully insured, or a golf-green destroyed.

In every case women should make it widely known to friends and tradesmen what action they are taking, and why.—Yours, &c.,

Sara Falckey.

West Cliff Hotel, Westcliff-on-Sea.

CHURCHWOMEN MILITANT

The hon. secretary of the Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee (21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead) writes to point out that a suggestion made by some of the correspondents in our columns lately is already embodied in the work of her Committee, as far as the Church of England is concerned. For some time past the members of this Committee have been collecting signatures to the following manifesto:—

"We, the undersigned women, members of the Church of England, do hereby protest against the attitude of the Church towards the woman's movement for reform, and towards her claim for enfranchisement, both in Church and State. We protest against the entirely un-Christian spirit shown by the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons of our Church towards women, and their neglect to offer public prayer, in the churches all over the kingdom, for God's guidance in this movement and for a speedy and righteous settlement of the women's agitation. We declare the movement to be a great moral and spiritual upheaval, and its aim to be the uplifting of the nation and the furthering of truth, purity, and justice throughout the world. In testimony of our belief, and as a protest, we resolve in future not to attend the services of any church, work for any church, or contribute to the funds of any church, where the incumbent is not (1) a sympathiser with the woman's movement, and (2) willing to prove his sincerity by requesting the prayers of his congregation on at least one Sunday in every month, until such a time as women shall have equal voting rights with men, both in the ecclesiastical and in the political world."

A first instalment of signatures was sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury on January 31, and names are now being collected for a second instalment.

A CARDINAL'S BLESSING

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—In view of Cardinal Bourne's Pastoral Letter, I think it may be of interest to the readers of Votes for Women to see the enclosed Central News telegram taken from the *Pall Mall Gazette* of the 26th inst.

I have sent the cutting to His Eminence Cardinal Bourne, at the same time begging his prayers and blessing on the suffragists of England.—Yours, &c.,

Angela Whately.

75, Harcourt Terrace,
The Boltons, S.W.

[The cutting enclosed runs as follows: "The suffragists who are walking to Washington to draw public attention to their cause have arrived at Baltimore, where they have been received by Cardinal Gibbons, the head of the Roman Catholic community in the United States. The Cardinal gave his blessing to the women, in whose cause he showed the greatest interest, and characterised them as 'modern Joan-of-Arcs.'"]

WOMAN'S LEISURE

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—Sir Joseph Compton Rickett, in a recent letter to the Press, compares the attainments of men and women during past ages, and states that had woman possessed equal mental power with man she would have utilised her leisure in proving that equality long ago. But what even of the higher-class girl's education as recently as Ruskin's day? We have his testimony as to its frivolity in "Sesame and Lilies," where he says: "You bring up your girls as if they were sideboard ornaments, and then complain of their frivolity." We have only to read the biographies of some of our noted women to find that they were hindered at every step by parents and guardians. So we are scarcely surprised to find that the girl, instead of being encouraged, was watched almost day and night lest she should follow her natural bent.

Sir Compton Rickett seems to infer that whilst the woman was thus wasting her leisure, the man would have demands on his time which would forbid further culture. But the career of a professional man, for instance, is one long education. School, College, University, preparation for practice, say, as a barrister, and later, his everyday duties, then his political life, all contribute to the broadening and development of the mind.—Yours, &c.,

Fairplay.

London, S.W.

THE UP-KEEP OF THE STATE

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—In reply to the letter of Mr. F. C. Pearse, in your issue of February 14, the gentleman, unfortunately, appears to be acquainted with only one type of woman, the one who knows nothing beyond her kitchen and drawing-room. He appears to know nothing of the woman who carries on a large business, or manages her own property, and there are hundreds of such.

The last five or six years I have spent a great deal of my time in a little village in Cornwall. There are middle-aged men there who can neither read nor write; their wages are about 15s. per week, and they pay £5 or £6 a year for their cottages; and these men have a vote, over the heads of women who are pillars of the State, who pay £1,000 a year or more to its upkeep in Land Duties, Property Tax, Landlord's Tax, besides the ordinary rates and taxes, and the employment of labour.

This is only one side of the question, but I think I need say no more.—Yours, &c.,

J. A. Moore.

Sunnybank, West View, Swanley, Kent.

IRISH SUFFRAGISTS IN INDIA

Miss Mary Stack sends us an account from the *Indian Daily Telegraph*, describing a Suffrage fête which was got up as far away as the camp at Bareily by Irish Suffragists, including two officers, the proceeds of which have been sent to the Irish Women's Franchise League. "There is very little we can do so far away from the scene of action," writes Miss Stack, "and we feel that this money we are sending home is but a poor exchange for the tremendous sacrifices and physical sufferings other suffragettes willingly undergo in order to help on the greatest movement of the present day, the upraising of the mothers and potential mothers of the race."

MR. H. W. MASSINGHAM'S SCHEME

Of devices for avoiding the straight path to Woman Suffrage — a Government measure—there seems to be no end, and the latest comes from Mr. H. W. Massingham, who proposed in a recent issue of an evening paper to deal with the question along the lines of local option. The leading article in the *Nation* deals with the subject in last Saturday's issue.

"It ought to be possible," it says, "to move experimentally. It is on those lines that the question is being solved in the United States. The States act singly, and the more cautious Conservative communities of the East are able at their leisure to observe the results that have followed from the enfranchisement of women in California and the more mobile Western States. Our own familiar expedient of local option seems to supply the necessary precedent and machinery. . . . It is as inexpedient to force on a backward country a reform which it does not yet understand as it is to postpone in a progressive town a change for which public opinion is fully prepared. If we had a federal system, the question would rapidly solve itself on these lines. We must face some innovation, some novelty of procedure. Our proposal is that each constituency should be allowed, in its own good time and by its own choice, to settle this question as soon as local opinion is ripe."

A Simple and Intelligible Bill

The article goes on to say:—

"The proposal which we venture to put forward might be worked out in detail in several conceivable ways. We would suggest, in the first place, the framing of a simple and intelligible Bill, either on Dickinson or on Conciliation lines. The Government would assume responsibility for this Bill as a general formula of settlement. It would not thereby commit itself to the principle of woman suffrage. It would merely adopt what we understand to be the position at least of the more moderate anti-suffragists. It would say, in effect, that women shall vote in any constituency when and if the majority of the electors within it consent to place them on the register. The plan for setting the machinery of local option in motion requires careful thinking out. . . However initiated, the essence of the scheme would be in the last resort a reference to the male electors of the question whether the purely permissive Franchise Act which the Government had placed on the Statute Book should be applied in their locality. . . And the measure could be fathered and passed by the direct action of Government, even it were divided on the question of a mandatory Bill."

SOME PRESS COMMENTS ON THE IDEA

There is a good deal to be said for the idea of "testing and developing" the "new growth in politics" in this way. At any rate, it would be possible to find out what is very much in doubt at the present moment—whether there is any real demand for the vote among the general body of women.—**Leicester Daily Post.**

Mr. Massingham's plan would at least secure that the public in any district would be able to express its own opinion, and obtain the benefits of female enfranchisement if that opinion were favourable. But we question very much whether this so-called solution will ever come within the scope of practical politics. — **South Wales Argus.**

At first glance, this may seem simple enough, but on consideration it is obvious that the plan could not yield satisfactory results, and might, indeed, mean confusion worse confounded. If the women suffrage question is to be settled at all, it must be on a national basis. But so long as militant pretensions and militant bombs are predominant in the struggle for the suffrage, there is little hope of any suggestions, either practical or unpractical, receiving any serious attention. — **Liverpool Daily Post.**

MORE LIBERAL WOMEN REBELS

The President, Miss Gittins, and twelve members of the committee have withdrawn from the Leicester Women's Liberal Association, as a protest against the recent action of the Government. At the annual meeting, held on Thursday in last week, a resolution was brought forward proposing that the Association should be disbanded in view of the number and importance of the resignations. This resolution was defeated by the narrow majority of one vote. We understand that other resignations are now being sent in.

A very different view of the present situation was taken at a meeting of the Women's Liberal Federation, held last week, when the following resolution, condemning militancy and ignoring its cause, was moved by Rosalind Lady Carlisle, and carried:—

"The executive committee, on behalf of the Women's Liberal Federation, record that they have for six years consistently deplored and condemned the lawless methods of the militants, which have so grievously set back the cause of women's suffrage, and they recognise that the outrages which are at present daily shocking the moral sense of the community are creating a serious obstacle in the way of those who are striving to carry this reform into law; nevertheless, the executive trusts that the wrongdoing of a mere section will not be unjustly visited upon the thousands of constitutional patient women who have for so many years striven by law-abiding methods to win the franchise for their sex."

Yorkshire Liberal Women

A similar line was taken by the Yorkshire Women's Liberal Federation, at their conference held on February 26 in the Philosophical Hall, Leeds. A resolution was passed, expressing disappointment at the loss of the "long-promised opportunity" of securing Woman Suffrage, and calling upon the Government to adopt the new Bill after its second reading. The resolution further deplored and condemned militant tactics in very much the same words as those of the resolution quoted above. We are glad to be able to add that one amendment expressing "unqualified confidence in Mr. Asquith and the Government" was defeated. There are limits, it seems, even to the Yorkshire Liberal Woman's patience.

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UNIONIST WOMEN'S CONDEMNATION

In consequence of many statements which have appeared in the Press and letters that have been received at the head office regarding the attitude of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association towards militancy, the Executive Committee have issued a statement emphasising the fact that the Association has over and over again protested against militant actions as being utterly reprehensible in themselves and injurious to the cause of Woman Suffrage.

"In face of the reiterated declarations of the Association," the statement concludes, "it is difficult to understand how responsible persons and papers can continue to accuse us of sympathy with militant methods. We should like to point out that the Conservative Press departs from its usually high standard of truth by frequently suppressing information which would guide the public aright on our attitude to this question, while giving undue prominence to acts of violence. For instance, at a demonstration of Conservative suffragists on February 6, organised by our Association, the Earl of Selborne, as principal speaker, expressed the strongest disapproval of acts of lawlessness. A leading Conservative paper completely ignored this weighty and statesmanlike pronouncement, and in fact published no report of the meeting, though the editor found space for chronicling several acts of militancy."

The Countess of Fingall, addressing a meeting of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association in Dublin yesterday, said the Association abhorred the recent acts of violence, which degraded their cause and even their womanhood, and alienated many friends. But they should in fairness remember the circumstances which had given rise to them.

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WELSH WOMEN AND MR. LLOYD GEORGE

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union

At the public meeting held by the above Union in the Essex Hall last Tuesday evening, Mrs. Mansell-Moullin, from the chair, announced, as we have already stated in these columns, that they had written to Mr. Lloyd George asking him to remember his promise in December last to receive them. They were expecting to receive an answer from him between the 6th and 10th of this month; but in the event of his writing or saying that he could not receive them because he had not time, or because they would not come with other associations, they had made up their minds that they would not take such a refusal. They were absolutely determined that they would go alone to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and if he were unable to appoint a day they would wait on him and say, "Now we have called upon you and you must receive us."

THE L.C.C. ELECTIONS

MR. BURNS AND WOMEN VOTERS

An extraordinary occurrence took place at a meeting held in the support of the Progressive candidates at Battersea last Monday, when Mr. Burns, M.P., was the chief speaker. Although women possess the municipal vote, and had the same right as men to be present, they were admitted only to reserved seats at the back of the hall; and two of them were ejected with brutal violence for the usual reason—that of reminding a Cabinet Minister of his responsibility towards the women of the country.

Mr. Burns then took the unwarrantable course of insisting that all the women present should leave the meeting! Resuming his speech, he then said he was not going to allow these extremists to play their game at the cost of life and limb, injuring their cause, and doing a great deal of harm to innocent supporters of woman suffrage. A man in the gallery who called out, "What have you done to help it?" was put out with such violence that his face bled profusely. Mr. Burns said that sanity had been restored to the meeting by the absence of people who were ruining their cause every hour and every day more rapidly than all its opponents could do in a lifetime.

Give us insanity—if Mr. Burns's way expresses sanity!

A Working Man's Protest

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I should like you to know that after the sickening scene I have just been at, at Mr. Burns's meeting, I intend to vote against the candidate he is supporting. I have never been in sympathy with you before, but the sickening way they got the girl out who first interrupted made me feel mad. I left at once. I tried to find her, but couldn't. She was real plucky, and I hope was not injured in any way.—Yours, &c.,

A WORKING MAN.

Suffragist Action

A special committee of the London branches of the Women's Freedom League was formed to deal with the London County Council elections. Candidates of all shades of opinion had agreed to receive a deputation from the league, which put to them two questions: (1) Whether, if elected, they will be prepared to propose a resolution calling upon the Government to introduce a measure of women's enfranchisement, and (2) whether, in the event of such a resolution being introduced, they would be prepared to support it.

The Federated Council

The Federated Council of Woman Suffrage Societies held a special meeting, last week, and decided to press immediately to obtain the support of L.C.C. candidates for the extension of the basis of the municipal franchise for women, so that it shall include, in addition to those now enfranchised, qualified married women. The Federated Council considered this of special importance in view of the fact that a Bill is at present before Parliament dealing with the subject.

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A FRENCH SUFFRAGIST

Mlle. Heléne Miropolsky, the eminent Parisian barrister, writing in the *Temps* on the subject of Woman Suffrage, says: "One thing is certain—the subject leaves no one indifferent. Everyone is agreed on the gravity and importance of the problem." She admits that so far Frenchwomen have only interested themselves in the matter to a small extent, and continues: "Why should they relegate to a distant and uncertain date a useful and courageous work which can be accomplished to-day?"

OUR ADVERTISERS

In our issue this week will be found advertisements from many of the best-known firms in London and elsewhere. Among them are Messrs. Peter Robinson, Messrs. Debenham and Freebody, Messrs. Burberry, Ltd., Messrs. Derry and Toms, Messrs. Bendable, the French Hat Shop, Messrs. John Knight, Messrs. Schweitzer and many others, who have fixed up contracts with us for a long series of advertisements. In addition to those appearing in this issue, further contracts have been arranged with Messrs. William Owen, Messrs. Jaeger, Messrs. H. J. Nicoll and others, which will appear in next week and subsequent issues. We also number among our advertisers Messrs. Whiteley's, Shoolbred's, Dickens and Jones, the Hanover Dress Company, Savage and Sons, Alfred Day, Samuel Bros., Evans and Mason, Dimoline Piano and many others, all of whom recognise the value of VOTES FOR WOMEN as an advertisement medium. We ask our readers to give their patronage to these firms.

COMING EVENTS

As we announced last week, the future policy of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies will be made public at a meeting in the Kensington Town Hall to-night (Friday). The speakers will include Mrs. Fawcett, the Earl of Lytton, and Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P.

The first of a series of meetings will be held at the Paddington Votes for Women Shop, 52, Praed Street, W., to-night (Friday), at 8.15, when Miss Evelyn Sharp will be the speaker.

Mr. Lawrence Housman will speak on Saturday, March 8, at 3.30 p.m., at a Parkstone branch meeting of the Church League for Women's Suffrage, at the Parish Rooms, Broadstowe. On March 15, at 3.30, the League announce a special service at St. George's, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, when the preacher will be the Rev. F. M. Green.

We remind our readers that the Pioneer Players, under the direction of Miss Edith Craig, will produce "Hamlet" on Sunday, March 9. Mr. Calvert will play Hamlet.

The Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage will hold a meeting at St. Cuthbert's Hall, Edinburgh, on Wednesday, March 12, at 3 p.m., to consider "The Religious Aspect of the Women's Movement." Lady Frances Balfour is to take the chair, and the speakers will include the Rev. T. Whitelow, D.D., Lady Ramsay, and the Rev. D. Butler, D.D.

There will be a lecture at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James's, S.W., on Tuesday, March 11, at 3.30 p.m.; subject, "That the Evolution of Women During the Past Fifty Years Demands Political Recognition"; speaker, J. Cameron Grant, Esq.

The Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement will hold a meeting at the Kensington Town Hall on Wednesday, March 12, at 8 p.m. The chairman will be Mr. H. W. Nevinson, and the speakers Mrs. Pankhurst, Mr. H. J. Gillespie, and Mr. H. D. Harben.

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THE LABOUR PARTY AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

According to the *Daily Chronicle* the Miners' Federation is divided as to the Woman Suffrage policy resolved upon at the recent Conference of the Labour Party. At the Annual Conference of the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation, Mr. Walsh's action in refusing to accept the policy of voting against any Franchise Bill that did not include women was unanimously approved.

The question will come before the next Conference of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, and if Mr. Walsh's policy be confirmed the fourteen miners' members who sit with the Parliamentary Labour party would obey the mandate of the federation instead of the Labour Party Conference.

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DEMAND FOR ANTI-GOVERNMENT MEASURE

The following resolution has been submitted to the various branches of the Dockers' Union for ratification:—"This . . . branch of the Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union condemns the recent action of the Government with regard to Woman Suffrage, as the most despicable breach of faith ever committed by any Ministry; records its conviction that the enfranchisement of women can never be secured except by means of a Government measure; and pledges itself to oppose any Government until it is either driven from office or has been compelled to grant the Parliamentary vote to the women workers of the country."

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THE ENGLISH WOMAN'S YEAR BOOK for 1913, as in previous issues, contains much useful information on all branches of women's work. The pages devoted to woman suffrage contain an interesting little historical summary, and a list of many of the principal woman suffrage societies. The book is issued by Messrs. A. and C. Black, London, at 2s. 6d. net.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.
Australian and New Zealand Voters Association,
9, Grafton Street, W.
Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.
Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
Civil Service Suffrage Society,
39, Aberdeen Road, Highbury.
Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,
48, Dover Street, W.
Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.
Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.
Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.
Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.
Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.
International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.
Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C.
Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.
Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.
Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
125, Leinster Road, Rathmines, Dublin.
Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.
Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
28, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.
Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.
National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
National Political Reform League,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.
National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage.
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.
People's Suffrage Federation,
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.
Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.
Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage,
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.
Suffrage Atelier,
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.
Suffrage Club.
3, York Street, St. James's.
Suffragists' Vigilance League,
49, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.
Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

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A CORRECTION

Owing to a misprint, the name of the author of "A Fair Field and No Favour" appeared in our last week's issue as "E. P. Ramsay Sage"; it should have been "E. P. Ramsay Lage."

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QUALITY AND VALUE.

A perusal of the illustrated catalogue of the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Company—which can be obtained post free from 112, Regent Street, London, W.—convinces one that purchasers of Gem Jewellery and Gold and Silver Plate may there obtain the utmost value for their money.—[ADVT.]

◆

The Sociological Society (21, Buckingham Street, London, W.C.) has arranged an interesting series of meetings in the Hall of the Royal Society of Arts from January to May.

It is a little known fact that Colman's mustard, an article of such every day use, was discovered by a woman, Mrs. Clements, of Durham, as long ago as 1729.

100 YEARS' WORLD-WIDE REPUTATION.
JOHN BOND'S CRYSTAL PALACE MARKING INK
WITH OR WITHOUT HEATING
WHICHEVER KIND IS PREFERRED
AS SUPPLIED TO THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLDS & AWARDED 45 GOLD MEDALS, etc., FOR SUPERIORITY.
FREE and enclosed with every Bottle a Voucher entitling Purchasers to Name or Monogram RUBBER STAMP, with PAD & BRUSH. Also with 1s. size a LINEN STRETCHER & PEN. 100 years' world-wide reputation. Price 6d. & 1s. Sold by all Stationers, Chemists & Stores.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

Single insertion, 24 words or less, 2s. 1d. per word for every additional word (Four insertions for the price of three.)

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager. VOTES FOR WOMEN, *4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.*

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE announces a public meeting at Caxton Hall, Wednesday, March 5, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Despard and J. Malcolm Mitchell, Esq. Admission free.

LONDON SOCIETY (N.U.W.S.S.).—Public reception March 7, 3.30-6.15. Miss Cockle, Councillor Margaret Ashton, Miss Palliser, Mrs. Gimingham.

THE First of a Series of Lectures at Caxton Hall will be given Monday, March 10, 8 p.m. Lecturer: Mrs. Despard. Subject: "Prometheus Unbound." Further particulars and tickets, reserved 2s. 6d. and 1s., unreserved 6d. (Course of 4 lectures, 5s.) To be obtained from the Women's Freedom League's offices, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

WILL the Gentleman who kindly befriended two ladies outside the Pavilion Music Hall on Monday afternoon last communicate with J. W., Upper Baker Street Post Office, as they would like to thank him personally?

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, warmest, daintiest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights from 5s. 6d.; en pension 9s.; special terms for long stay; finest English provisions.—Manageress, 4788 Gerard.

A BEAUTIFUL HOLIDAY HOME (altitude 600ft). Dean Forest, Severn and Wye Valleys. England's finest forest and river scenery. Spacious house; 25 bedrooms, billiard room, bathroom; extensive grounds; tennis; conveyances; vegetarians accommodated; Suffragists welcomed; board residence, 30s. to 37s. 6d.; photos, prospectus, Chas. Hallam, Littledean House, Newnham, Glos.

BOARD-RESIDENCE, superior, from 30s. Close Baker Street Underground and Tube. Bed and breakfast, 3s. 6d. per day. Telephone 4339 Paddington.—Mrs. Campbell, 5 and 7, York Street, Portman Square, W.

BRIGHTON. —TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. Terms from 25s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

FOLKESTONE.—"Trevarra," Bouverie Road, W. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required. — Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

GUESTS received in Lady's Country House; good cooking, vegetarian if required; indoor sanitation; hot baths; home comforts; south aspect; bracing.—Box 266, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court.

LONDON, W.C. (113, Gower Street).—Refined HOME (ladies). Bed, breakfast, dinner, and full board Sundays (cubicle), from 15s. 6d. Rooms, 19s. 6d. Full board, 17s. 6d. to 25s. Gentlemen from 19s. 6d.

PARIS.—French Lady and Daughter, professor, receive two ladies as paying guests; bright apartments, beautiful prospect on the Luxembourg Gardens.—Mme. Delezay, 15, rue Royer-Collard.

PAYING GUEST required in small Flat, one with daily engagement preferred; very near Met. and 'bus; terms moderate; references.—Mrs. Hodson, 9E, Grove End Road, St. John's Wood.

PRIVATE HOTEL, for Ladies only; quiet and refined; 13, St. George's Square, Westminster; bedroom, breakfast, bath, and attendance, from 4s. 6d.—Write or wire Miss Davies.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies.—Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

SUFFRAGETTES, keep well and fit by spending your week-ends at Brighton. Comfortable Board-residence at Miss Turner (W.S.P.U.), Sea View, Victoria Road. Terms Moderate. Nat. Tel., 1702 Brighton.

WEST HEATH HOSTEL, Lyndale, Hampstead, N.W. (near Platt's Lane), open April 15; 1 to 2½ guineas a week; exceptional position, delightful gardens.—Apply Mrs. Errol Boyd.

TO BE LET OR SOLD.

BED-SITTING-ROOM in lady artist's charming flat, Maida Vale. Bath and every convenience. 9s. 6d. weekly. Attendance extra, if required.—Wilson, 5-146, Portsdown Road.

FURNISHED FLAT, immediately; two bedrooms, sitting-room, kitchen, bathroom; most convenient, Baker Street Tube and buses.—Apply Caretaker, Walden House, 34, High Street, Marylebone.

HAMPSTEAD.—Lady wishes to Let portion of house, three or four rooms, unfurnished. Use of bathroom (geyser). Very moderate rent.—Box, 320, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

IN one of the healthiest and most beautiful Estates, on famous golf links. Picturesque and well-built houses to be let or sold. Prices from £350; rents from £32 p.a. Houses of any size to suit purchasers will be built on instalment system, under which repayments do not exceed rent. Gravel soil, main drainage and water, bracing air, golf club, residents' club, tennis, croquet, cricket, bowls, miniature rifle range, &c. 13½ miles from Bank; splendid service of trains for business men. Illustrated booklet post free.—Apply Estate Office, Department D., Gidea Park, Essex.

LARGE ROOM to Let, suitable for Meetings, At Homes, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street.

TO LET, March, Furnished Flat; 4 bed, 2 sitting-rooms. 2½ guineas weekly; six months.—Miss Little, 75, Prince of Wales Mansions, Battersea Park.

WANTED.

BED-SITTING-ROOM, use bath, required by bachelor when in town, no meals; yearly tenancy if suited; W.C. district.—Write "Cigar," c/o Deacon's, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
Winchmore Hill.

RECOMMENDED by SUFFRAGETTE. Masseuse (electrical) and husband arranging small select party short visit Switzerland, wish few more to join; moderate, inclusive terms; references exchanged. —Write "Health," c/o Gould's, 54, New Oxford Street, W.C.

PROFESSIONAL & EDUCATIONAL.

ADA MOORE gives Lessons in Singing and Voice Production; diction a specialitiy.—106, Beaufort Mansions, London, S.W. West End studio. Visits Brighton weekly.

A HEALTHY, profitable occupation for girls. Train for dairy and poultry farming, adaptable either for the Colonies or for the home counties.—Free booklet from Mrs. Dutton, Sawbridgeworth.

DENTISTRY. — Mr. Smedley, recommended by W.S.P.U. Sets from 1 guinea; partial dentures from 2s. 6d. per tooth; re-make from 10s. 6d.; repairs from 2s. 6d. (in a few hours); extraction, 1s.; painless, 2s. 6d.; with gas, 5s.; stopping from 2s. 6d.; gold crowns; teeth without plates; children's teeth regulated.—39, Beauchamp Place, Brompton Road, S.W.

GOD'S WORD TO WOMEN has never been a word of disapproval and suppression. The Bible encourages the development of woman and stands for her perfect equality with man, in spite of the teachings to the contrary. Do you wish to equip yourself for meeting the arguments of those who attempt, with sacrilegious hands, to throw the Bible in the way of woman's progress? Do you wish to know WHERE and HOW they mistranslate and misrepresent it? Send 7d. (15cts., American stamps) for *101 Questions Answered*, a Woman's Catechism, prepared purposely to solve your perplexities. — Katharine Bushnell, "Bernard Lodge," 10A, Drayton Park, Highbury, London, N.

LADIES' ELECTRIC SUN BATHS.—5, Maddox Street, Regent Street, W. High frequency treatment for neuritis, rheumatism, &c.; special treatment for obesity; light baths, face massage, manicure, chiropody; for ladies only; consultation free; ladies attended at own residences; hours, 10 a.m.—7 p.m. Telephone, 339 Mayfair.

LADIES suffering from Neglected Education speedily benefit by my course of postal tuition; writing, correct speech, correspondence.—Miss T., 31, Compton Road,

LITTLE SALON LITERARY CIRCLES. — Topical Debates, New Books, Poetry, Drama, Lectures, At Homes. Members bring friends. Social Introductions. Refreshments Included. Sub. Mod. Writing now.—"M. L. Breakell," Little Salon, 24, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.

MISS HUGOLIN HAWEIS resumes her lessons in speaking, acting, and reciting. Brighton visited weekly.—Address, 8, Ashburnham Mansions, Chelsea.

MRS. MARY LAYTON, F.R.C.O. (Hon. Organist to the W.S.P.U.). Voice Culture for Singers and Speakers. Private Lessons in Singing. Singing Classes and Ladies' Choir. Please note change of address to "The Châlet," 2, Fulham Park Road, S.W.

MOTOR-DRIVING and Mechanism.—Miss Addis Price personally instructs ladies in all branches; terms on application. —36, Long Acre. 'Phone 1642 Gerard.

TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U. Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private class or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness. . . . while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

WOMAN and the MOTOR-CAR.—Motor Schools Training Institute, Heddon Street, Regent Street, W. Ladies can join all our classes of instruction. Prospectus free on application. 150 test questions and answers on motoring. Questions free. Answers, 1s. 1d., by post. 20,000 sold.—Motor Schools Training Institute, Heddon Street, Regent Street, W.

TO GIRLS SEEKING A USEFUL AND ATTRACTIVE CALLING.

ANSTEY COLLEGE FOR PHYSICAL TRAINING AND HYGIENE, ERDINGTON, WARWICKSHIRE, offers a full professional training in the following subjects: Swedish Educational and Medical Gymnastics, Aesthetic Dancing, Folk Dancing, Swimming, Games, Anatomy, Hygiene, &c.

GOOD POSTS OBTAINED AFTER TRAINING.

WOMEN FARMERS!—Practical training at Lovegrove's Dairy and Poultry Farms.—Write prospectus, Kate Lelacheur, Checkendon, Reading.

BUSINESS, Etc.

IF You wish to Remove, Store, or Dispose of anything, send postcard or ring up Gerrard 9188 for The London Storage Co., Westwood House, 210, High Holborn, W.C., for price and advice, free of charge. Dry rooms, extensive warehouses.

SITUATIONS VACANT.

EVA MOORE would be glad if a lady could recommend a French or Swiss girl as child's maid.—21, Whiteheads Grove, Chelsea.

WANTED.—A refined, educated lady, as Companion Housekeeper to a Suffragette. Comfortable home. Salary from £25. —Box 326, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

WANTED. — Experienced Lady Gardener to take sole charge of small fruit and flower garden.—Apply, Mrs. Mackworth, Oaklands, Caerleon, Monmouthshire.

SITUATIONS WANTED.

ELDERLY SUFFRAGETTE requires light employment, plain sewing, cooking, care of offices; thoroughly trustworthy. —Box 312, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

TRAINED, CERTIFICATED NURSE, now free to take medical or surgical case; maternity or massage; excellent testimonials.—Miss M. Richard, 30, Erpingham Road, Putney, S.W.

YOUNG MAN (19) wants Situation in country; understands cleaning and minor repairs motor-car; waits well at table, and has experience in house-work; also some gardening; can be well recommended from present situation.—Frank Tunnell, 25, Ferncroft Avenue, Hampstead. No agents.

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GARDENING for Health. Ladies received; charming country residence; elevated situation; open-air life; competent instruction; individual consideration.—Peake, Udimore, Rye.

GARDENING TAUGHT. — Glasshouse work; vegetable, fruit, and floriculture; mushrooms, bees, poultry, and jam-making. Fees, board-residence and tuition, 4 guineas per month.—Mr. and Mrs. W. Rayner, F.R.H.S., Acacia House, Harmondsworth, Middlesex. 'Bus route, Hounslow to Windsor, alight at Hatch Lane.

DRESSMAKING, Etc.

ARTISTIC MILLINERY and DRESSMAKING.—Specialities: Light-weight Hats, Hand-embroidered Dresses, Evening Gowns. West End style. Mourning orders. Renovations.—Marcel, Broadway, Winchmore Hill, N.

MADAME DE VALLOISE, Court Milliner, 18, Berners Street, has opened a Renovation Department. Hats and Dresses remodelled to look like new, at reasonable charges.

MILLINERY. — Smart and Artistic Models at moderate prices; renovations, from 5s., a speciality.—Miss Angus, Robarts and Geen, 4, Conduit Street, W.

SPRING COSTUMES.—Sponge cloth, Eolierine, &c., 35s. 6d.; Shantung, 21s.; crape, 15s. 6d., to measure.—Madame Moore, 46, Pembridge Villas, W.

TAILOR-MADE COSTUMES. — Latest West End and Paris styles, at moderate prices. Highly recommended by members of W.S.P.U. Patterns sent on application.—H. Nelissen, Ladies' Tailor, 14, Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, W. (near Waring's)

LAUNDRY.

A CAREFUL, EXPERIENCED HAND LAUNDRESS can undertake Laundering of a family's linen; 9 years' reference.—Anna Jones, Kathleen Laundry, Palmerston Road, South Acton. Special arrangements for collecting country linen.

A MODEL LAUNDRY.—Family work a speciality. Dainty fabrics of every description treated with special care. Flannels and silks washed in distilled water. No chemicals used. Best labour only employed. Prompt collection; prompt deliveries.—Bullens, Cressy House Laundry, Reynolds Road, Acton Green, W.

THE HILLSIDE LAUNDRY, Shaftesbury Road, Mill Hill Park, W., has vacancies for one or two families' washing; highest wages paid employees, but charges the same as other laundries. Trial solicited. Telephone, 874 Chiswick.

THE NEW GROSVENOR LAUNDRY, 55, Strafford Road, South Acton, W., undertake family work only; flannels washed in distilled water; open-air drying ground; highest class work at moderate prices. Telephone 10 Chiswick.

ELECTROLYSIS, Etc.

ELECTROLYSIS and Face Massage skilfully performed; also expert Lessons. Certificates given. Special terms to nurses. —Address, Miss Theakston, 54, Devonshire Street, Great Portland Street, W.

ANTISEPTIC ELECTROLYSIS scientifically and effectually performed. It is the only *permanent* cure for Superfluous Hair. Highest medical references. Special terms to those engaged in teaching, clerical work, &c. Consultation free.—Miss Marion Lindsay, 35, Cambridge Place, Norfolk Square, W. Telephone: 3307 Paddington.

ELECTROLYSIS. — Hairdressing at ladies' own residences. Any description of hairwork made to order; best hair. Very moderate.—Box 328, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

FACE MASSAGE and HAIR TREATMENT hygienically performed by certificated masseuses; manicure; recommended by a member, a doctor's wife.—"Iris," 124, Regent Street.

HAIR DESTROYER.—James' Depilatory instantly removes superfluous hairs from the face, neck, or arms, without injury to the skin. Of most chemists, or free from observation, post free on receipt of postal order for 1s. 3d., 2s. 9d., or 5s.—Mrs. V. James, 268, Caledonian Road, London, N.

HAIR SPECIALIST.—Scalp troubles scientifically treated; each case diagnosed by microscopic examination; doctor's recommendation.—Miss Taylor, 35, Glasshouse Street, Piccadilly Circus, W.

MASSEUSE visits Patients for general Massage; putting on or reducing weight; face massage, &c.—Apply, Box 230, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

JEWELLERY.

WHY Keep Useless Jewellery? The large London market enables Robinson Brothers, of 5, Hampstead Road, London, W., and 127, Fenchurch Street, E.C., to give the best prices for Gold, Silver, Platinum, Diamonds, Pearls, Emeralds, Silver Plate, Antiques, Old Teeth, &c., in any form, condition, or quantity; licensed valuers and appraisers. Telephone: 2036 North. All parcels offer or cash by return of post.

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FRESH FISH, DIRECT FROM THE STEAMER, sent off immediately after being landed; dressed for cooking, carriage paid; special terms to Schools, Convents, and Institutions. Choice parcels, value 2s. 6d., 3s., 4s., 5s.. and upwards.—Write for circular to SECRETARY, ENTERPRISE FISHING CO. (DEPT. G), ABERDEEN.

FRESH FISH.—Direct from Steamer. Carriage paid; cleaned and prepared for cooking; send 1s. 6d. for 4lb choice parcel.—The Quality Fish Supply Co. (Dept. K), Aberdeen.

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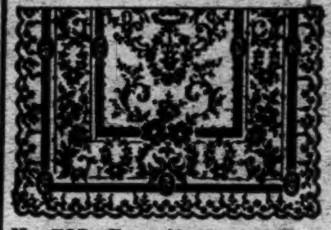

No. 744. Very wide **Nottingham Lace Curtain,** handsome Borders on Heavy Net. 60in. by 3 yds. Usually 8/11. Sale price, **6/11½** per pair. White and Ivory.

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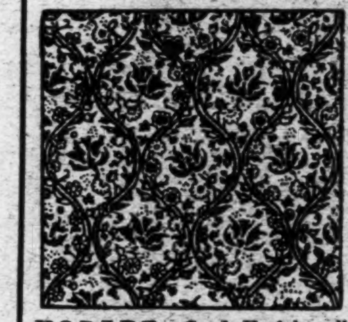

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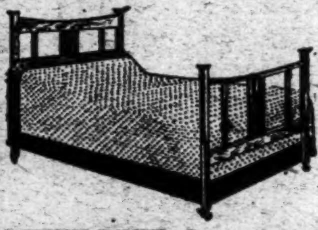

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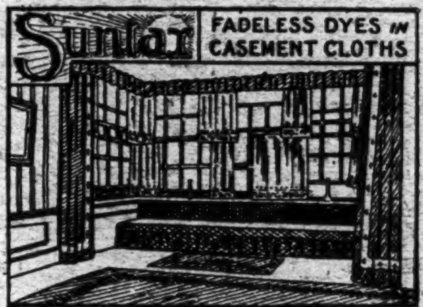
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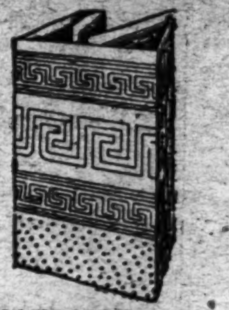

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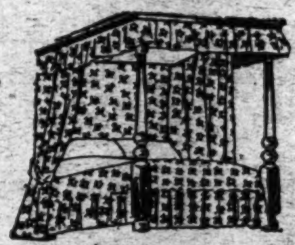

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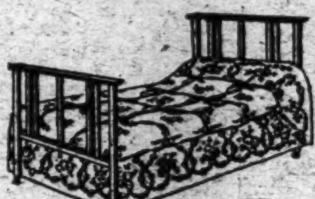

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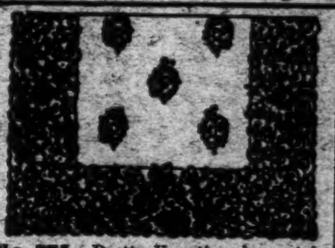

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